

English Literature for Secondary Schools
(HISTORICAL SECTION)
General Editor:—J. H. FOWLER, M.A.

PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF JULIUS CÆSAR



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Plutarch's Life of Julius Cæsar

Sir Thomas North's Translation

Edited for Schools by

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

THE BOOK AND ITS TRANSLATORS.

PLUTARCH'S *Lives*, from which this account of Cæsar is taken, were written in the Greek language some time during the first century after the birth of Christ. The author, who was a well-educated man of good family, was born at Chaeronea, in Boeotia, and spent most of his life there. He was assiduous in discharging public duties, for we learn that he became chief magistrate of the town, and also, through a fine sense of public spirit, filled other offices of less dignity. In some such capacity, probably as one of a deputation, he paid a visit to Rome. While he was there, we are told, he gave lectures on philosophy.

His most important work is the "Parallel Lives," in which he gives a series of lives of famous Greeks and Romans (either statesmen or generals). He writes a full account, first of a Greek and then of a Roman, and after that gives us a comparison between the two men. Thus the life of Julius Cæsar is followed by that of Alexander the Great, and to these a comparison between Cæsar and Alexander is appended.

In reading these lives it is necessary to remember that they are not to be regarded as history; that is to say, that Plutarch is not aiming at accuracy or sifting of evidence. He is more concerned with the moral effect which the

example of his great men may have on us. It is therefore his aim to make these individual characters living and real to us ; accordingly he does not reject any anecdote or gossip which may help him to this end, and he is ready to make any digressions that may serve him. His interest does not lie in politics and empires, but in the men, in their characters, aims, and actions, and in their motives for action.

This book was translated out of the Greek into French in the middle of the sixteenth century by Amyot, the tutor of the sons of Henry II. of France. He was subsequently made Bishop of Auxerre by Charles IX., one of his royal pupils, and discharged the duties of that bishopric till his death at the good age of 80.

His translation of Plutarch's *Lives* was extraordinarily popular at the time, partly because of the interest of its subject matter and partly because of his pure and clear style. Amyot's prose holds an important place in the history of the development of the French language.

It was from this French version, and not from the original Greek, that Sir Thomas North made the translation of Plutarch's *Lives* from which this is taken. He was the son of the first Lord North, and was educated at Cambridge, afterwards becoming a student of Lincoln's Inn. In spite of his many excellent personal qualities, and in spite of his influential connections, he appears always to have been in need.

When he was about 40 years old, he accompanied his elder brother on an embassy into France, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that on this expedition he either met with Amyot, or at the least heard much of him. At any rate, five years later he published his translation of Amyot's version of Plutarch's *Lives*, a task for which he was well fitted, in that he had a good knowledge of modern tongues ; for he had already made translations from Spanish, Italian, and French. His version of Plutarch's *Lives* is extraordinarily vivid and robust. He is not always faithful to Amyot, and sometimes is less clear than he might be.

Occasionally too he indulges in long and complicated sentences. (See, for example, 6, 23.) But to compensate for this, he is master of a good store of strong and picturesque words and phrases, and has a fine instinct for the rhythm of prose.

It is instructive to set side by side three different versions of the same sentence, one by North, one by Langhorne, and one from the translation known as Dryden's, and to notice how much more vigorous and full-blooded than the others North's translation is. This particular sentence is to be found on page 5, line 25, but almost any sentence might be chosen at random and answer its purpose equally well.

North. "But they were as merry with the matter as could be, and took all in good part, thinking that this his bold speech came through the simplicity of his youth."

Langhorne. "They were delighted with these freedoms, which he imputed to his frank and facetious vein."

Dryden's. "They were greatly taken with this, and attributed his free talking to a kind of simplicity and boyish playfulness."

II.

SHAKESPEARE'S PLAY OF *JULIUS CÆSAR*.

North's book has indeed an intrinsic value of its own ; but quite apart from this, an additional interest is attached to it, since it was the source of Shakespeare's play of *Julius Cæsar*. For it was from Plutarch's lives of Cæsar, Brutus, and Antony that Shakespeare got the material for this play ; and these lives he read in the translation made by North. In order to discuss in detail the debt of the play to the *Lives*, it would be necessary to write a whole book ; but it may be possible here to indicate briefly in what way Shakespeare used his authorities, and to point out the chief influences which North exercised upon his work.

In the first place, the knowledge of Roman history which Shakespeare possessed was obviously derived almost entirely

from the Plutarch, and from the same source came the suggestions for the plot of *Julius Cæsar*. There is, for instance, scarcely a sentence in the last six chapters of Cæsar's life which has not been laid under contribution. At the same time Shakespeare has not hesitated, by means of alterations or additions, to show the characters in a different light from Plutarch wherever he felt that the view of the biographer was inadequate, or wherever he gained additional dramatic effect by doing so. So too he leaves himself a perfectly free hand to compress the action as may suit him best; Cæsar's triumph and the feast of the Lupercalia, which historically are separated by a period of five months, occur at the same time in the play, and the two battles of Philippi are represented as having taken place on the same day, though in reality twenty days elapsed between them.

At times, indeed, Shakespeare does not disdain to take whole sentences from North with but little change. For instance, "'As for those fat men and smooth-combed heads,' quoth he, 'I never reckon of them; but these pale-visaged and carrion lean people, I fear them most;'" becomes

"Let me have men about me that are fat,
Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o' nights;
Yond Cassius hath a lean and hungry look;
He thinks too much: such men are dangerous."

Or else he will elaborate a striking image. He finds in North, "Cæsar turned him no where but he was stricken at by some, and still had naked swords in his face, and was hackled and mangled among them, as a wild beast taken of hunters." And this suggests:

"Here wast thou bay'd, brave hart;
Here didst thou fall, and here thy hunters stand,
Sign'd in thy spoil and crimson'd in thy lethe.
O world, thou wast the forest to this hart;
And this, indeed, O world, the heart of thee.
How like a deer stricken by many princes
Dost thou here lie!"

One more point may be noticed. Shakespeare sees the Roman story against an Elizabethan background : that is to say, although the events and the characters are essentially Roman, there is no attempt at historical accuracy in the details. Shakespeare makes clocks strike, clothes his Romans in doublets, cloaks, and hats, introduces chimney-tops, gives Brutus a page instead of a slave to attend him, and indulges in many other anachronisms. And this inaccuracy, which, so far from being a hindrance, is a help towards making us grasp the reality of the men and the events, is a prominent feature of North's narrative also, and its existence in Shakespeare may well be attributed in some degree at least to his influence.

Lastly, there is always this to be remembered : that wherever and whatever Shakespeare borrowed, he was too great a man not to make it his own in the process. He had indeed possession of the philosopher's stone, by virtue of which he could transmute the other elements to pure gold. North supplied the material to work upon, but the glory of achievement is none the less Shakespeare's.

III.

HISTORICAL.

In order to appreciate Cæsar and to understand his life, it is necessary to be acquainted, in outline at least, with the history of Rome's development from a city-state to an empire. Rome was at first merely one among many cities inhabited by the Latin race ; but very early in her career she became mistress of the other cities round her. Gradually her power spread until all Italy as far as the river Po was under her dominion. Then she faced and defeated the power of Carthage, and as a result of this struggle acquired fresh territories in Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain. Macedonia, Greece, North Italy, Illyria, Asia Minor, and part of Gaul were in

turn added to her empire, till at last her power was supreme on all the shores of the Mediterranean.

In this way Rome had grown from a small city into a great empire. But during this growth, although her government had undergone great developments, its main principles had changed but little. For the supreme power still lay in the hands of the citizens of Rome herself: Rome's dominions, that is to say, were governed from without, and had no share of political power. This lay almost entirely in the hands of the Senate, an oligarchy which, whatever its good qualities, always thought of Rome and governed Rome as a city and not as an empire. The Senate indeed had proved extraordinarily successful during the earlier years of Rome's development, but it is not surprising to find that a form of government which was eminently suitable for a solitary city was not best fitted to direct the affairs of a vast empire. And in addition to this the individual members of the Senate, from a variety of causes, had begun to lose their old uprightness of character and old ideals of self-sacrifice and self-control. More and more they showed a disposition to rule in their own interests, and to enrich themselves at the expense of those whom it was their duty to govern. Such a tradition must, and did, lead to disaster in all directions. The Senate was not only acting upon a wrong conception of what the Roman empire really was, but had also become incapable of discharging their regular duties efficiently.

It is certainly easy to overestimate the aims and ideals of the opponents of the Senate, the party of the "Populares"; but it does appear that they were to some extent conscious that Rome had responsibilities towards her subjects and her provinces. Caius Gracchus, their first great leader, by proposing to extend the franchise, was at least taking a step in the right direction, and his scheme for founding Roman colonies beyond the seas was another indication that he realised the problems that faced him.

To this party Cæsar naturally belonged, for one of his uncles was Marius, its great chief. Marius, by his victories

over Jugurtha and over the Cimbri and Teutones, won for himself unlimited power ; but he was a general and not a statesman, and he accomplished no political reform of any permanent value. On his death he was succeeded by Cinna, who for three years was absolute master of Rome ; but as soon as Sulla returned from his victorious campaign in the East, he drove out the Marians, and placed the Senate in the strongest position (from a constitutional point of view) that it had ever held. And it is the most striking proof of the impossibility of the Senatorial control that within a few years of Sulla's death the Senate had once again lost its authority and prestige, and that many of Sulla's enactments had been repealed. Cæsar, at any rate, came to realise that the power of the Senate must be broken, and this knowledge led him to face the Civil War with Pompey. And, great general and leader of men that Cæsar was, his chief claim on our admiration is that he had the insight to see, as only a true statesman could, that the time had come to shatter and to remould the Roman Constitution. This task demanded a courage and a strength beyond the ordinary significance of these words, but Cæsar undertook it. The tragedy of his life is that his work stopped short at destruction. The daggers of Brutus and the conspirators ended his life just as he entered on his constructive work, and we have little or nothing to guide us in our speculations as to the form of government upon which his choice would have fallen. His work was cut short just where it was beginning to bear fruit ; "the rest is silence."

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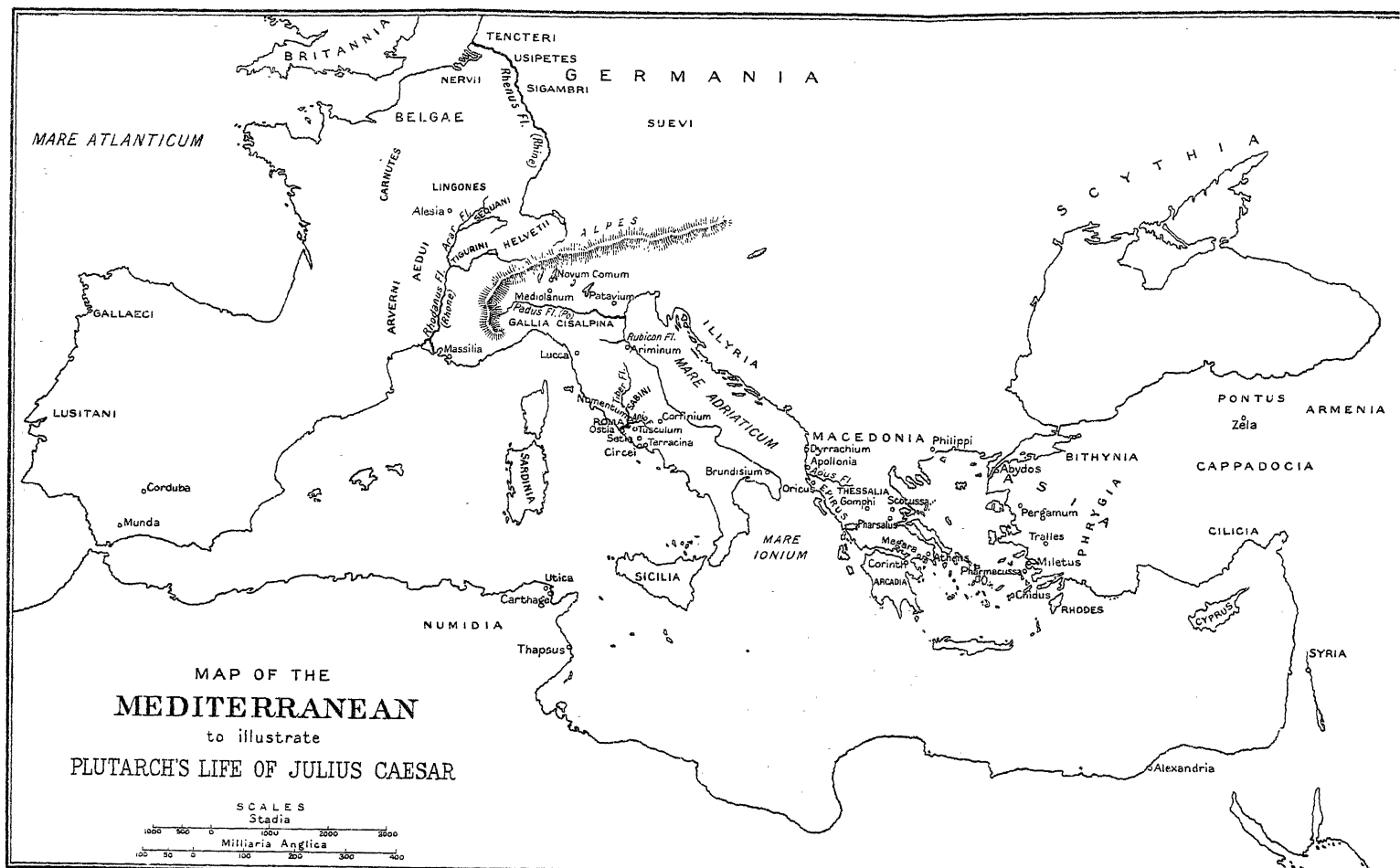
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NOTE.—It would not be right to allow this book to be published without acknowledging the debt which it owes to Mr. Skeat's edition of Cæsar's life in his "Shakespeare's Plutarch." For that edition has been of the greatest service in the preparation both of the text and of the glossary.

The portrait of Julius Cæsar (p. 3) is from the well-known bust in the British Museum; the portrait of Pompey (p. 48) is from a marble head in a private collection at Paris.

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TO THE READER.

(BY SIR THOMAS NORTH.)

The profit of stories, and the praise of the Author, are sufficiently declared by Amiot, in his epistle to the reader : so that I shall not need to make many words thereof. And indeed, if you will supply the defects of this translation with your own diligence and good understanding, you shall not need to trust him ; you may prove yourselves, that there is no profane study better than Plutarch. All other learning is private, fitter for universities than cities, fuller of contemplation than experience, more commendable in students themselves than profitable unto others. Whereas stories are fit for every place, reach to all persons, serve for all times, teach the living, revive the dead, so far excelling all other books as it is better to see learning in noblemen's lives, than to read it in philosophers' writings. Now, for the author, I will not deny but love may deceive me, for I must needs love him with whom I have taken so much pain ; but I believe I might be bold to affirm that he hath written the profitablest story of all authors. For all other were fain to

take their matter as the fortune of the countries where they wrote fell out ; but this man, being excellent in wit, in learning, and experience, hath chosen the special acts of the best persons, of the famousest nations of the world. But I will leave the judgment to yourselves. My only purpose is to desire you to excuse the faults of my translation with your own gentleness, and with the opinion of my diligence and good intent. And so I wish you all the profit of the book. Fare ye well. The four and twentieth day of January, 1579.



JULIUS CÆSAR.

CHAPTER I.

CÆSAR'S EARLY LIFE.

1. At what time Sylla was made lord of all, he would have had Cæsar put away his wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna dictator: but Cæsar joined with Cinna and Marius. when he saw he could neither with any promise nor threat bring him to it, he took her 5

jointure away from him. The cause of Cæsar's ill will unto Sylla was by means of marriage: for Marius the elder married his father's own sister, by whom he had Marius the younger, whereby Cæsar and he were cousin-germans. Sylla being troubled in weighty matters, putting to death so many of his enemies, when he came to be conqueror, he made no reckoning of Cæsar: and he was not contented to be hidden in safety, but came and
 10 made suit unto the people for the priesthoodship that was void, when he had scant any hair on his face. Howbeit he was repulsed by Sylla's means, that secretly was against him. Who, when he was determined to have killed him, some of his friends told him, that it was to no purpose to put so young a boy as he to death. But Sylla told them again, that they did not consider that there were many Marians in that young boy. Cæsar understanding that, stole out of Rome, and hid himself
 20 a long time in the country of the Sabines, wandering still from place to place. But one day being carried from house to house, he fell into the hands of Sylla's soldiers, who searched all those places, and took them whom they found hidden. Cæsar bribed the captain, whose name was Cornelius, with two talents which he gave him.

2. After he had escaped them thus, he went unto the seaside, and took ship, and sailed into Bithynia to go unto king Nicomedes. When he had been with him awhile, he took sea again, and was
 30 taken by pirates about the isle of Pharmacussa: for

Cæsar took sea and went unto Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. Cæsar taken of pirates.

those pirates kept all upon the sea-coast, with a great fleet of ships and boats. They asking him at the first twenty talents for his ransom, Cæsar laughed them to scorn, as though they knew not what a man they had taken, and of himself promised them fifty talents. Then he sent his men up and down to get him this money, so that he was left in manner alone among these thieves of the Cilicians (which are the cruellest butchers in the world) with one of his friends, and two of his slaves only : and ¹⁰ yet he made so little reckoning of them, that when he was desirous to sleep, he sent unto them to command them to make no noise. Thus was he thirty-eight days among them, not kept as prisoner, but rather waited upon by them as a prince. All this time he would boldly exercise himself in any sport or pastime they would go to. And otherwhile also he would write verses, and make orations, and call them together to say them before them : and if any of them seemed as though they had not under- ²⁰ stood him, or passed not for them, he called them blockheads and brute beasts ; and laughing, threatened them that he would hang them up. But they were as merry with the matter as could be, and took all in good part, thinking that this his bold speech came through the simplicity of his youth. So when his ransom was come from the city of Miletus, they being paid their money, and he again set at liberty, he then presently armed and manned certain ships out of the haven of ³⁰ Miletus, to follow those thieves, whom he found yet riding at anchor in the same island. So he

took the most of them, and had the spoil of their goods ; but for their bodies, he brought them into the city of Pergamum and there committed them to prison, whilst he himself went to speak with

Junius Præ-
tor of Asia.

Junius, who had the government of Asia, as unto whom the execution of these pirates did belong, for that he was Prætor of that country. But this Prætor, having a great fancy to be fingering of the money, because there was good
10 store of it, answered that he would consider of these prisoners at better leisure. Cæsar, leaving Junius there, returned again unto Pergamum, and there hung up all these thieves openly upon a cross, as he had oftentimes promised them in the isle he would do, when they thought he did but jest.

3. Afterwards when Sylla's power began to decay, Cæsar's friends wrote unto him, to pray him to come home again. But he sailed first unto
20 Rhodes, to study there a time under Apollonius the son of Molon, whose scholar also Cicero was, for he was a very honest man and an excellent good rhetorician. It is reported, that Cæsar had an excellent natural gift to speak well before the
Cæsar's elo- people ; and besides that rare gift, he was
quence. excellently well studied, so that doubtless he was counted the second man for eloquence in his time, and gave place to the first, because he would be the first and chiefest man of war and
30 authority, being not yet come to the degree of perfection to speak well, which his nature could have performed in him, because he was given

rather to follow wars and to manage great matters, which in the end brought him to be lord of all Rome. And therefore in a book he wrote against that which Cicero made in the praise of Cato, he prayeth the readers not to compare the style of a soldier with the eloquence of an excellent orator, that had followed it the most part of his life. When he was returned again unto Rome, he accused Dolabella for his ill behaviour in the government of his provinces, and ¹⁰ he had divers cities of Greece that gave in evidence against him. Notwithstanding, Dolabella at the length was dismissed. Cæsar, to requite the good will of the Grecians which they had showed him in his accusation of Dolabella, took their cause in hand, when they did accuse Publius Antonius before Marcus Lucullus, Prætor of Macedon: and followed it so hard against him in their behalf, that Antonius was driven to appeal before the tribunes at Rome, alleging, to colour his ²⁰ appeal withal, that he could have no justice in Greece against the Grecians. Now Cæsar immediately won many men's good wills at Rome, through his eloquence in pleading of their causes; and the people loved him marvellously also, because of the courteous manner he had to speak to every man, and to use them gently, being more ceremonious therein than was looked for in one of his years. Furthermore, he ever kept a good board, and fared well at his table, and was very liberal besides: the which indeed did ³⁰ advance him forward, and brought him in estimation

Cæsar loved
hospitality.

with the people. His enemies, judging that this
Cæsar a fol-
lower of the
people. favour of the common people would soon
 quail, when he could no longer hold out
 that charge and expense, suffered him to run on, till
 by little and little he was grown to be of great
 strength and power. But in fine, when they had
 thus given him the bridle to grow to this greatness,
 and that they could not then pull him back, though
 indeed in sight it would turn one day to the de-
 10 struction of the whole state and commonwealth of
 Rome: too late they found, that there is not so
 little a beginning of any thing, but continuance of
 time will soon make it strong, when through
 contempt there is no impediment to hinder the
 greatness.

4. Thereupon Cicero, like a wise shipmaster
 that feareth the calmness of the sea, was the first
 man that, mistrusting his manner of dealing in
 the commonwealth, found out his craft and
 20 malice, which he cunningly cloaked under the
 habit of outward courtesy and familiarity. "And
Cicero's
judgment of
Cæsar. yet," said he, "when I consider how
 finely he combeth his fair bush of hair,
 and how smooth it lieth, and that I see him
 scratch his head with one finger only, my mind
 gives me then, that such a kind of man should
 not have so wicked a thought in his head, as
 to overthrow the state of the common-
 30 The love of
the people in
Rome unto
Cæsar.
Cæsar chosen
Tribunus
militum. wealth." But this was long time after
 that. The first show and proof of the
 love and goodwill which the people
 did bear unto Cæsar, was when he sued to

be tribune of the soldiers (to wit, colonel of a thousand footmen) standing against Caius Pompeilius, at what time he was preferred and chosen before him. But the second and more manifest proof than the first, was at the death of his aunt Julia, the wife of Marius the elder. For being her nephew, he made a solemn oration in the market-place in commendation of her, and at her burial did boldly venture to show forth the images of Marius: the 10 which was the first time that they were seen after Sylla's victory, because that Marius and all his confederates had been proclaimed traitors and enemies to the commonwealth. For when there were some that cried out upon Cæsar for doing of it, the people on the other side kept astir, and rejoiced at it, clapping of their hands; and thanked him, for that he had brought, as it were out of hell, the remembrance of Marius' honour again into Rome, which had so long time been 20 obscured, and buried. And where it had been an ancient custom of long time, that the Romans used to make funeral orations in praise of old ladies and matrons when they died, but not of young women: Cæsar was the first that praised his own wife with funeral oration when she was dead, the which also did increase the people's goodwills the more, seeing him of so kind and gentle nature. After the burial of his wife, he was made 30 treasurer under Antistius Vetus prætor, whom he honoured ever after: so that when himself came

Cæsar made the funeral oration at the death of his aunt Julia.

Cæsar the first that praised his wife in funeral oration. Cæsar made Quæstor.

to be prætor, he made his son to be chosen
Pompeia
Cæsar's third
wife. treasurer. Afterwards, when he was
 come out of that office, he married
 his third wife Pompeia, having a daughter by
 his first wife, Cornelia, which was married unto
 Pompey the great.

5. Now for that he was very liberal in expenses,
 buying (as some thought) but a vain and short
 glory of the favour of the people, (where indeed
 10 he bought good cheap the greatest things that
 could be :) some say, that before he bare any
 office in the commonwealth, he was grown in
 debt, to the sum of thirteen hundred talents.
 Furthermore, because he was made overseer of
 the work for the highway called Appius' way,
 he disbursed a great sum of his own money
 towards the charges of the same. And on the
 other side, when he was made Ædilis, for that he
 did show the people the pastime of three hundred
 20 and twenty couple of sword-players, and did besides
 exceed all other in sumptuousness in the sports
 and common feasts, which he made to delight
 them withal (and did as it were drown
Cæsar's pro-
digality. all the stately shows of others in the
 like, that had gone before him) he so pleased
 the people and won their love therewith, that they
 devised daily to give him new offices for to requite
 him. At that time there were two factions in
 Rome, to wit, the faction of Sylla, which was very
 30 strong and of great power; and the other of
 Marius, which then was under foot, and durst not
 shew itself. But Cæsar, because he would renew

it again, even at that time when, he being *Ædilis*, all the feasts and common sports were in their greatest ruff, he secretly caused images of Marius to be made, and of victories that carried triumphs; and those he set up one night within the capitol. The next morning, when every man saw the glistening of these golden images excellently well wrought, showing by the inscriptions that they were the victories which Marius had won upon the Cimbri, everyone marvelled much at the boldness of him ¹⁰ that durst set them up there, knowing well enough who it was. Hereupon it ran straight through all the city, and every man came thither to see them. Then some cried out upon Cæsar, and said, it was a tyranny which he meant to set up, by renewing of such honours as before had been trodden under foot and forgotten ^{Cæsar accused to make a rebellion in the state.} by common decree and open proclamation: and that it was no more but a bait to gauge the people's good wills, which he had set out in the ²⁰ stately shows of his common plays, to see if he had brought them to his lure, that they would abide such parts to be played, and a new alteration of things to be made. They of Marius' faction on the other side, encouraging one another, showed themselves straight a great number gathered together, and made the mount of the Capitol ring again with their cries and clapping of hands: insomuch as the tears ran down many of their cheeks, for very joy, when they saw the images of ³⁰ Marius; and they extolled Cæsar to the skies, judging him the worthiest man of all the kindred

of Marius. The Senate being assembled thereupon, Catulus Luctatius, one of the greatest authority at that time in Rome, rose, and vehemently inveighed against Cæsar, and spake that then which ever since hath been noted much : that Cæsar did not now covertly go to work, but by plain force sought to alter the state of the commonwealth. Nevertheless, Cæsar at that time answered him so, that the senate was satisfied.

10 Thereupon they that had him in estimation did grow in better hope than before, and persuaded him, that hardly he should give place to no man, and that through the goodwill of the people he should be better than all they, and come to be the chiefest man of the city.

6. At that time the chief bishop Metellus died, and two of the notablest men of the city, and of greatest authority (Isauricus and Catulus), contended for his room : Cæsar, notwithstanding their contention, would give neither of them both place, but presented himself to the people, and made suit for it as they did. The suit being equal betwixt either of them, Catulus, because he was a man of greater calling and dignity than the other, doubting the uncertainty of the election, sent unto Cæsar a good sum of money, to make him leave off his suit. But Cæsar sent him word again, that he would lend a greater sum than that, to maintain the suit

20 The death of Metellus chief Bishop of Rome.

30 against him. When the day of the election came, his mother bringing him to the door of his house, Cæsar, weeping, kissed her, and said : " Mother,

this day thou shalt see thy son chief Bishop of Rome, or banished from Rome." In fine, when the voices of the people were gathered together, and the strife well debated, Cæsar won the victory, and made the Senate and noblemen all afraid of him, for that they thought that thenceforth he would make the people do what he thought good. Then Catulus and Piso fell flatly out with Cicero, and condemned him 10 for that he did not betray Cæsar, when he knew that he was of conspiracy with Catiline, and had opportunity to have done it.

Cæsar made
chief Bishop
of Rome.
Cæsar
suspected to
be confederate
with
Catiline in
his con-
spiracy.

7. For when Catiline was bent and determined, not only to overthrow the state of the commonwealth, but utterly to destroy the Empire of Rome, he escaped out of the hands of justice for lack of sufficient proof, before his full treason and determination was known. Notwithstanding, he left Lentulus and Cethegus in the city, companions 20 of his conspiracy : unto whom, whether Cæsar did give any secret help or comfort, it is not well known. Yet this is manifest, that when they were convinced in open Senate, Cicero being at that time Consul, asking every man's opinion in the Senate what punishment they should have, every one of them, till it came to Cæsar, gave sentence they should die : Cæsar then rising up to speak, made an oration (penned and premeditated before) and said, that it was neither lawful, nor yet their custom did bear it, to put men of such nobility to death (but in an

Cæsar went
about to
deliver the
conspirators. 30

extremity) without lawful indictment and condemnation. And therefore, that if they were put in prison in some city of Italy, where Cicero thought best, until that Catiline were overthrown, the Senate then might at their pleasure quickly take such order therein, as might appear best unto their wisdoms. This opinion was thought more gentle, and withal was uttered with such a passing good grace and eloquence, that not only they
10 which were to speak after him did approve it: but such also as had spoken to the contrary before, revoked their opinion, and stuck to his until it came to Cato and Catulus to speak. They
Cato's oration against Cæsar. both did sharply inveigh against him, but Cato chiefly: who in his oration made Cæsar suspected to be of the conspiracy, and stoutly spake against him, insomuch that the offenders were put into the hands of the officers to be put to death. Cæsar coming out of the
20 Senate, a company of young men which guarded Cicero for the safety of his person, did set upon him with their swords drawn. But some say, that Curio covered Cæsar with his gown, and took him out of their hands. And Cicero self, when the young men looked upon him, beckoned with his head that they should not kill him, either fearing the fury of the people, or else that he thought it too shameful and wicked a part. But if that were true, I marvel why Cicero did not put it into his
30 book he wrote of his consulship. But certainly they blamed him afterwards, for that he took not the opportunity offered him against Cæsar, only

for overmuch fear of the people, that loved him very dearly. For shortly after, when Cæsar went into the Senate, to clear himself of certain presumptions and false accusations objected against him, and being bitterly taunted among them, the Senate keeping him longer than they were wont : the people came about the council-house, and called out aloud for him, bidding them let him out. Cato then, fearing the insurrection of the poor needy persons, which were they that put all ¹⁰ their hope in Cæsar, and did also move the people to stir, did persuade the Senate to make a frank distribution of corn unto them, for a month. This distribution did put the commonwealth to a new charge of five hundred and fifty myriads. This counsel quenched a present great fear, and did in happy time scatter and disperse abroad the best part of Cæsar's force and power, at such time as he was made Prætor, and that for respect of his office he was most to be feared. Yet all the time ²⁰ he was officer, he never sought any alteration in the commonwealth ; but contrarily, he himself had a great misfortune fell on his house, which was this.

8. There was a young nobleman of the order of the Patricians, called Publius Clodius, who lacked neither wealth nor eloquence ; but otherwise as insolent and impudent a person as any was else in Rome. He became in love with Pompeia Cæsar's wife, who misliked not withal : notwithstanding she was so straightly looked to, and Aurelia (Cæsar's mother) an honest gentlewoman,

The love of P.
Clodius unto
Pompeia,
Cæsar's wife.
The good
goddess,
what she
was, and her
sacrifices.

30

had such an eye of her, that these two lovers could not meet as they would, without great peril and difficulty. The Romans do use to honour a goddess which they call the good goddess, as the Grecians have her whom they call Gynæcia, to wit, the goddess of women. Her, the Phrygians do claim to be peculiar unto them, saying : that she is king Midas' mother. Howbeit the Romans hold opinion, that it is a nymph of the woods
10 married unto the god Faunus. The Grecians, they say also, that she was one of the mothers of the god Bacchus, whom they dare not name. And for proof hereof, on her feast-day, the women make certain tabernacles of vine-twigs, and leaves of vine-branches ; and also they make, as the tale goeth, a holy dragon for this goddess, and do set it by her : besides, it is not lawful for any man to be present at their sacrifices, no, not within the house itself where they are made. Furthermore
20 they say, that the women in these sacrifices do many things amongst themselves, much like unto the ceremonies of Orpheus. Now when the time of this feast came, the husband (whether he were Prætor or Consul) and all his men and the boys in the house, do come out of it, and leave it wholly to his wife, to order the house at her pleasure, and there the sacrifices and ceremonies are done the most part of the night, and they do besides pass the night away in songs and music.
30 Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, being that year to celebrate this feast, Clodius, who had yet no hair on his face, and thereby thought he should not be

betrayed, disguised himself in a singing wench's apparel, because his face was very like unto a young wench. He finding the gates open, being secretly brought in by her chamber-maid that was made privy unto it, she left him, and ran to Pompeia her mistress, to tell her that he was come. The chamber-maid tarried long before she came again, insomuch as Clodius, being weary waiting for her where she left him, he took his pleasure and went from one place to another in ¹⁰ the house, which had very large rooms in it, still shunning the light; and was by chance met withal by one of Aurelia's maids, who taking him for a woman, prayed her to play. Clodius refusing to play, the maid pulled him forward, and asked him what he was: Clodius then answered her, that he tarried for Abra, one of Pompeia's women. So Aurelia's maid, knowing him by his voice, ran straight where the lights and ladies were, and cried out, that there was a man disguised in ²⁰ woman's apparel. The women therewith were so amazed, that Aurelia caused them presently to leave off the ceremonies of the sacrifice, and to hide their secret things; and having seen the gates fast locked, went immediately up and down the house with torch-light to seek out this man: who at the last was found out in the chamber of Pompeia's maid, where he hid himself. Thus Clodius being found out, and known of ^{Clodius taken in the sacrifices of the good goddess.} the women, they thrust him out of the ³⁰ doors by the shoulders. The same night the women told their husbands of this

chance as soon as they came home. The next morning, there ran a great rumour through the city, how Clodius had attempted a great villainy, and that he deserved not only to be punished of them whom he had slandered, but also of the commonwealth and the gods. There was one of the tribunes of the people that did indict him, and accuse him of high treason to the gods. Further-

more, there were also of the chiefest of the nobility and Senate, that came to depose against him, and burthened him with many horrible and detestable facts.

Notwithstanding the people stoutly defended Clodius against their accusations: and this did help him much against the judges, which were amazed, and afraid to stir the people. This not-

Cæsar putteth away his wife Pompeia.

withstanding, Cæsar presently put his wife away, and thereupon being brought by Clodius' accuser to be a witness against him, he answered, he knew nothing of that they objected against Clodius. This answer being clean contrary to their expectation that heard it, the accuser asked Cæsar, why then he had put away his wife: "Because I will not," said he, "that my wife be so much as suspected." And some say that Cæsar spake truly as he thought. But others think that he did it to please the

common people, who were very desirous to save Clodius. So Clodius was discharged of this accusation, because the most part of the judges gave a confused judgment, for the fear they stood in one way of

10 Clodius accused for profaning the sacrifices of the good goddess.

30 Clodius quit by the judges for profaning the sacrifices of the good goddess.

the danger of the common people, if they condemned him, and for the ill opinion on the other side of the nobility, if they did quit him.

9. The government of the province of Spain being fallen unto Cæsar, for that he was Prætor, his creditors came and cried out upon him, and were importunate of him to be paid. Cæsar, being unable to satisfy them, was compelled to go unto Crassus, who was the richest man of all Rome, and that stood in need 10 of Cæsar's boldness and courage to withstand Pompey's greatness in the commonwealth. Crassus became his surety unto his greediest creditors for the sum of eight hundred and thirty talents : whereupon they suffered Cæsar to depart to the government of his province. In this journey it is reported, that passing over the mountains of the Alps, they came through a little poor village that had not many households, and yet poor cottages. There his friends that did 20 accompany him asked him merrily, if there were any contending for offices in that town, and whether there were any strife there amongst the noblemen for honour. Cæsar speaking in good earnest, answered : " I cannot tell that," said he, " but for my part I had rather be the chiefest man here than the second person in Rome." Another time also when he was in Spain, reading the history of Alexander's acts, when he had read it, he was sorrowful a good while after, and then 30 burst out in weeping. His friends seeing that, marvelled what should be the cause of his sorrow.

He answered them, "Do ye not think," said he, "that I have good cause to be heavy, when king Alexander, being no elder than myself is now, had in old time won so many nations and countries : and that I hitherto have done nothing worthy of myself?" Therefore when he was come into

Cæsar's acts
in Spain.

Spain, he was very careful of his business, and had in few days joined ten new ensigns more of footmen unto the other
10 twenty which he had before. Then marching forward against the Gallæcians and Lusitanians, he conquered all, and went as far as the great sea Oceanum, subduing all the people which before knew not the Romans for their lords. There he took order for pacifying of the war, and did as wisely take order for the establishing of peace. For he did reconcile the cities together, and made them friends one with another, but specially he pacified all suits of law and strife betwixt the
20 debtors and creditors, which grew by reason of usury. For he ordained that the creditors should take yearly two parts of the revenue of their debtors, until such time as they had paid themselves : and that the debtors should have the third part themselves to live withal.

Cæsar's order
between the
creditor and
the debtor.

10. He having won great estimation by this good order taken, returned from his government very rich, and his soldiers also full of rich
30 spoils, who called him Imperator, to say, sovereign Captain. Now the Romans having a custom, that such as demanded honour

Cæsar's
soldiers
called him
Imperator.

of triumph should remain a while without the city, and that they on the other side which sued for the Consulship should of necessity be there in person: Cæsar coming unhappily at the very time when the Consuls were chosen, he sent to pray the Senate to do him that favour, that, being absent, he might by his friends sue for the Consulship. Cato at the first did vehemently inveigh against it, vouching an express law to the contrary. But afterwards, perceiving that notwithstanding the reasons he alleged, many of the Senators (being won by Cæsar) favoured his request, yet he cunningly sought all he could to prevent them, prolonging time, in dilating his oration until night. Cæsar thereupon determined rather to give over the suit of his triumph, and to make suit for the Consulship: and so came into the city, and had such a device with him, as went beyond them all but Cato only. His device was this: Pompey and Crassus, two of the greatest personages of the city of Rome being at jar together, Cæsar made them friends, and by that means got unto himself the power of them both, for by colour of that gentle act and friendship of his, he subtilly (unawares to them all) did greatly alter and change the state of the commonwealth. For it was not the private discord between Pompey and Cæsar, as many men thought, that caused the civil war: but rather it was their agreement together, who joined all their powers first to overthrow the state of the Senate and nobility, and afterwards they fell at jar one

Cæsar reconciled Pompey and Crassus together.

with another. But Cato, that then foresaw and
Cato's fore-
sight and
prophecy. prophesied many times what would fol-
 low, was taken but for a vain man :
 but afterwards they found him a wiser man than
 happy in his counsel.

11. Thus Cæsar, being brought unto the as-
 sembly of the election, in the midst of these two
 noble persons whom he had before re-
 conciled together, he was there chosen
 10 Cæsar's first
Consulship
with Calphur-
nius Bibulus. Consul with Calphurnius Bibulus, with-
 out gainsaying or contradiction of any man. Now
 when he was entered into his office, he began to
 put forth laws meeter for a seditious
Cæsar's laws.
Lex agraria. Tribune of the people than for a Consul :
 because by them he preferred the division of lands,
 and distributing of corn to every citizen gratis, to
 please them withal. But when the noblemen of
 the Senate were against his device, he, desiring no
 better occasion, began to cry out and to protest,
 20 that by the overhardness and austerity of the
 Senate, they drave him against his will to lean
 unto the people : and thereupon, having Crassus
 on the one side of him and Pompey on the other,
 he asked them openly in the assembly, if they did
 give their consent unto the laws which he had put
 forth. They both answered, they did. Then he
 prayed them to stand by him against those that
 threatened him with force of sword to let him.
 Crassus gave him his word, he would ; Pompey
 30 also did the like, and added thereunto, that he
 would come with his sword and target both,
 against them that would withstand him with their

swords. These words offended much the Senate, being far unmeet for his gravity, and undecent for the majesty and honour he carried, and most of all uncomely for the presence of the Senate whom he should have revered: and were speeches fitter for a rash light-headed youth, than for his person. Howbeit the common people on the other side, they rejoiced.

12. Then Cæsar, because he would be more assured of Pompey's power and friendship, he gave 10 him his daughter Julia in marriage, which was made sure before unto Ser-
Cæsar married his daughter Julia to Pompey.
 villius Cæpio, and promised him in exchange Pompey's daughter, who was sure also unto Faustus, the son of Sylla. And shortly after also, Cæsar self did marry Calpurnia, Cæsar married Calpurnia the daughter of Piso. the daughter of Piso, whom he caused to be made Consul, to succeed him the next year following. Cato then cried out with open mouth, and called the gods to witness, that 20 it was a shameful matter, and not to be suffered, that they should in that sort make havoc of the Empire of Rome, distributing among themselves, through those wicked marriages, the governments of the provinces, and of great armies. Calphurnius Bibulus, fellow-Consul with Cæsar, perceiving that he did contend in vain, making all the resistance he could to withstand this law, and that oftentimes he was in danger to be slain with Cato in the market-place and assembly; he kept close in his 30 house all the rest of his Consulship. When Pompey had married Julia, he filled all the market-

place with soldiers, and by open force authorized the laws which Cæsar made in the behalf of the people. Furthermore, he procured that Cæsar had Gaul on this side and beyond the Alps, and all Illyria, with four legions granted him for five years.

13. Then Cato standing up to speak against it, Cæsar bade his officers lay hold on him, and carry him to prison, thinking he would have
 10 Pompey by force of arms authorized Cæsar's laws. appealed unto the Tribunes. But Cato said never a word, when he went his way. Cæsar perceiving then, that not only the Senators and nobility were offended, but that the common people also, for the reverence they bare unto Cato's virtues, were ashamed, and went away with silence; he himself secretly did pray one of the Tribunes that he would take Cato from the officers. But after he had played this part, there were few Senators that would be President of the
 20 Senate under him, but left the city, because they could not away with his doings. And of them there was an old man called Considius, that on a time boldly told him, the rest durst not come to council because they were afraid of his soldiers. Cæsar answered him again: "and why then dost not thou keep thee at home, for the same fear?" Considius replied, "because my age taketh away fear from me: for having so short a time to live, I have no care to prolong it further." The shame-
 30 fullest part that Cæsar played while he was Consul seemeth to be this: when he chose P. Clodius Tribune of the people, that had offered his wife

such dishonour, and profaned the holy ancient mysteries of the women, which were celebrated in his own house. Clodius sued to be Tribune to no other end, but to destroy Cicero : and Cæsar self also departed not from Rome to his army before he had set them together by the ears, and driven Cicero out of Italy.

Cæsar, by
Clodius, drove
Cicero out
of Italy.

CHAPTER II.

CÆSAR'S CAMPAIGNS IN GAUL AND BRITAIN.

14. All these things they say he did before the wars with the Gauls. But the time of the great armies and conquests he made afterwards, and of the war in the which he subdued all the Gauls (entering into another course of life far contrary unto the first) made him to be known for as valiant a soldier and as excellent a captain. a captain to lead men, as those that afore him had been counted the wisest and most
10 valiant generals that ever were, and that by their valiant deeds had achieved great honour. For whosoever would compare the house of the Fabians, of the Scipios, of the Metellians, yea, those also of his own time, or long before him, as Sylla, Marius, the two Lucullians, and Pompey self :

Whose fame ascendeth up unto the heavens :
it will appear that Cæsar's prowess and deeds of arms did excel them all together. The one, in the hard countries where he made wars : another, in
20 enlarging the realms and countries which he joined unto the Empire of Rome : another, in the multitude and power of his enemies whom he overcame :

another, in the rudeness and austere nature of men with whom he had to do, whose manners afterwards he softened and made civil : another in courtesy and clemency which he used unto them whom he had conquered : another, in great bounty and liberality bestowed unto them that served under him in those wars : and in fine, he excelled them all in the number of battles he had fought, and in the multitude of his enemies he had slain in battle. For in less than ten years' war in Gaul he took by force and assault above eight hundred towns : he conquered three hundred several nations : and having before him in battle thirty hundred thousand soldiers, at sundry times, he slew ten hundred thousand of them, and took as many more prisoners. Furthermore, he was so entirely beloved of his soldiers, that to do him service (where otherwise they were no more than other men in any private quarrel) if Cæsar's honour were touched, they were invincible, and would so desperately venture themselves and with such fury, that no man was able to abide them.

Cæsar's conquests in Gaul. 10

The love and respect of Cæsar's soldiers unto him.

15. And this appeareth plainly by the example of Acilius : who in a battle by sea before the city of Marseilles, boarding one of his enemies' ships, one cut off his right hand with a sword ; but yet he forsook not his target which he had in his left hand, but thrust it in his enemies' faces, and made them fly, so that he won their ship from them. And Cassius Scæva also, in a conflict before the city of

The wonderful valian-ness of Acilius, Cassius Scæva, and divers others of Cæsar's soldiers. 30

Dyrrachium, having one of his eyes put out with an arrow, his shoulder stricken through with a dart, and his thigh with another, and having received thirty arrows upon his shield, he called to his enemies, and made as though he would yield unto them. But when two of them came running to him, he clave one of their shoulders from his body with his sword, and hurt the other in the face : so that he made him turn his back, and at the length
10 saved himself, by means of his companions that came to help him. And in Britain also, when the captains of the bands were driven into a marrish or bog full of mire and dirt, and that the enemies did fiercely assail them there, Cæsar then standing to view the battle, he saw a private soldier of his thrust in among the captains, and fought so valiantly in their defence, that at the length he drave the barbarous people to fly, and by his means saved the captains, which otherwise were in great danger to
20 have been cast away. Then this soldier, being the hindmost man of all the captains, marching with great pain through the mire and dirt, half swimming and half on foot, in the end got to the other side, but left his shield behind him. Cæsar, wondering at his noble courage, ran to him with joy to embrace him. But the poor soldier hanging down his head, the water standing in his eyes, fell down at Cæsar's feet, and besought him to pardon him, for that he had left his target behind him. And
30 Granius
Petronius. in Africa also, Scipio having taken one of Cæsar's ships, and Granius Petronius aboard on her amongst other, not long before

chosen Treasurer ; he put all the rest to the sword but him, and said he would give him his life. But Petronius answered him again, that Cæsar's soldiers did not use to have their lives given them, but to give others their lives : and with these words he drew his sword, and thrust himself through.

16. Now Cæsar's self did breed this noble courage and life in them. First, for that he gave them bountifully, and did honour them also, showing thereby, that he did not heap up riches in the 10 wars to maintain his life afterwards in wantonness and pleasure, but that he did keep it in store, honourably to reward their valiant service : and that by so much he thought himself rich, by how much he was liberal in rewarding of them that had deserved it. Furthermore, they did not wonder so much at his valiantness in putting himself at every instant in such manifest danger, and in taking so extreme pains as he did, knowing that it was his greedy desire of honour that set 20 him on fire, and pricked him forward to do it : but that he always continued all labour and hardness, more than his body could bear, that filled them all with admiration. For, concerning the constitution of his body, he was lean, white, and soft-skinned, and often subject to headache, and otherwhile to the falling sickness (the which took him Cæsar had the falling sickness, the first time, as it is reported, in Corduba, a city of Spain :) but yet therefore yielded not to the disease of his body, to make it a cloak 30 to cherish him withal, but contrarily, took the pains of war as a medicine to cure his sick body,

fighting always with his disease, travelling continually, living soberly, and commonly lying abroad in the field. For the most nights he slept in his coach or litter, and thereby bestowed his rest, to make him always able to do something : and in the day-time he would travel up and down the country to see towns, castles, and strong places. He had always a secretary with him in the coach, who did still write as he went by the way, and a soldier
 10 behind him that carried his sword. He made such speed the first time he came from Rome, when he had his office, that in eight days he came to the River of Rhone. He was so excellent a rider of horse from his youth, that holding his hands behind him, he would gallop his horse upon the spur. In his wars in Gaul, he did further exercise himself to indite letters as he rode by the way, and did occupy two secretaries at once with as much as they could write : and, as Oppius writeth, more than two at a
 20 time. As it is reported, that Cæsar was the first that devised friends might talk together by writing cyphers in letters, when he had no leisure to speak with them for his urgent business, and for the great distance besides from Rome. How little account
 The temper- Cæsar made of his diet, this example
 ance of Cæsar in doth prove it. Cæsar supping one night
 his diet. in Milan with his friend Valerius Leo,
 there was served sperage to his board, and oil of
 Cæsar's civi- perfume put into it instead of salad-oil.
 lity not to
 30 blame his friend. He simply ate it, and found no fault,
 blaming his friends that were offended :
 and told them, that it had been enough for them to

have abstained to eat of that they misliked, and not to shame their friend, and how that he lacked good manners that found fault with his friend. Another time, as he travelled through the country, he was driven by foul weather on the sudden to take a poor man's cottage, that had but one little cabin in it, and that was so narrow, that one man could but scarce lie in it. Then he said to his friends that were about him : "Greatest rooms are meetest for greatest men, and the most necessary rooms for the 10 sickest persons." And thereupon he called Oppius that was sick to lie there all night : and he himself, with the rest of his friends, lay without doors, under the easing of the house.

17. The first war that Cæsar made with the Gauls, was with the Helvetians and Tigurinians, who having set fire on all their good cities, to the number of twelve, and four hundred villages besides, came to invade that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Teutons had 20 done before, unto whom for valiantness they gave no place : and they were also a great number of them (for they were three hundred thousand souls in all) whereof there were an hundred four score and ten thousand fighting men. Of those, it was not Cæsar himself that The Tigurinians slain by Labienus. overcame the Tigurinians, but Labienus his lieutenant, that overthrew them by the river of Arar.. But the Helvetians themselves came suddenly with their army to set upon him, as he 30 was going towards a city of his confederates. Cæsar perceiving that, made haste to get him some

place of strength, and there did set his men in battle ray. When one brought him his horse to get upon, which he used in battle, he said unto them: "When I have overcome mine enemies, I will then get upon him to follow the chase, but now let us give them charge." Therewith he marched forward on foot and gave charge: and there fought it out a long time, before he could make them fly that
 10 were in battle. But the greatest trouble he had was to distress their camp, and to break their strength which they had made with their carts. For there, they that before had fled from the battle did not only put themselves in force, and valiantly fought it out: but their wives and
 The Helvetians slain by Cæsar. children also, fighting for their lives to the death, were all slain, and the battle was scant ended at midnight. Now if the act of this victory was famous, unto that he also added another as
 20 notable, or exceeding it. For of all the barbarous people that had escaped from this battle, he gathered together again above an hundred thousand of them, and compelled them to return home into their country which they had forsaken, and unto their towns also which they had burnt: because he feared the Germans would come over the River of Rhine, and occupy that country lying void.

18. The second war he made, was in defence of the Gauls against the Germans: although before he himself had caused
 30 Rhenus fl. Cæsar made war with king Ariovistus. Ariovistus their king to be received for a confederate of the Romans. Notwithstanding,

they were grown very unquiet neighbours, and it appeared plainly, that, having any occasion offered them to enlarge their territories, they would not content them with their own, but meant to invade and possess the rest of Gaul. Cæsar perceiving that some of his captains trembled for fear, but specially the young gentlemen of noble houses of Rome, who thought to have gone to the wars with him as only for their pleasure and gain, he called them to council, and commanded them that 10 were afraid that they should depart home, and not put themselves in danger against their wills, sith they had such womanish faint hearts, to shrink when he had need of them. And for himself, he said, he would set upon the barbarous people, though he had left him but the tenth legion only, saying that the enemies were no valianter than the Cimbri had been, nor that he was a captain inferior unto Marius. This oration being made, the soldiers of the tenth legion sent 20 their lieutenants unto him, to thank him for the good opinion he had of them: and the other legions also fell out with their captains, and all of them together followed him many days' journey with good will to serve him, until they came within two hundred furlongs of the camp of the enemies. Ariovistus' courage was well cooled, when he saw Cæsar was come, and that the Romans came to seek out the Germans; where they thought, and made account, that they durst 30 not have abidden them: and therefore, nothing mistrusting it would have come so to pass, he

wondered much at Cæsar's courage, and the more when he saw his own army in a maze withal. But much more did their courage fall, by reason

The wise
women of
Germany;
how they
did foretell
things to
come.

of the foolish women-prophesiers they had amongst them, which did foretell things to come: who, considering the waves and trouble of the rivers, and the terrible noise they made running down the stream, did forewarn them not to fight until the
10 new moon. Cæsar having intelligence thereof, and perceiving that the barbarous people thereupon stirred not, thought it best then to set upon them, being discouraged with this superstitious fear, rather than, losing time, he should tarry their leisure. So he did skirmish with them even to their forts and little hills where they lay, and by this means provoked them so, that with great fury they came down to fight. There he overcame them in battle, and followed them in chase,
20 with great slaughter, three hundred furlongs, even unto the river of Rhine; and he filled all the fields thitherto with dead bodies and spoils. Howbeit Ariovistus, flying with speed, got over the river of Rhine, and escaped with a few of his men. It is said that there were slain fourscore thousand persons at this battle.

King Ario-
vistus over-
thrown by
Cæsar.

19. After this exploit, Cæsar left his army amongst the Sequani to winter there: and he
30 himself in the meantime, thinking of the affairs at Rome, went over the mountains into Gaul about the river of Po, being part of his province

which he had in charge. For there the river called Rubico divideth the rest of Italy from Gaul on this side of the Alps. Cæsar lying there, did practise to make friends in Rome, because many came thither to see him: unto whom he granted their suits they demanded, and sent them home also, partly with liberal rewards, and partly with large promises and hope. Now during all this conquest of the Gauls, Pompey did not consider how Cæsar interchangeably did conquer the Gauls ¹⁰ with the weapons of the Romans, and won the Romans again with the money of the Gauls. Cæsar, being advertised that the Belgæ (which were the warlikest men of all the Gauls, and that occupied the third part of Gaul) were all up in arms, and had raised a great power of men together: he straight made towards them with all possible speed, and found them spoiling and overrunning the country of the Gauls, their neighbours, and confederates of the Romans. So ²⁰ he gave them battle, and they fighting cowardly, he overthrew the most part of them, ^{The Belgæ overcome by Cæsar.} which were in a troop together; and slew such a number of them, that the Romans passed over deep rivers and lakes on foot, upon their dead bodies, the rivers were so full of them.

20. After this overthrow, they that dwelt nearest unto the seaside, and were next neighbours unto the Ocean, did yield themselves without any compulsion or fight: ^{Nervii the stoutest warriors of all the Belgæ.} ³⁰ whereupon he led his army against the Nervians, the stoutest warriors of all the Belgæ. They,

dwelling in the wood country, had conveyed their wives, children, and goods into a marvellous great forest, as far from their enemies as they could ; and being about the number of six score thousand fighting men and more, they came one day and set upon Cæsar, when his army was out of order, and fortifying of his camp, little looking to have fought that day. At the first charge, they brake the horsemen of the Romans, and
10 compassing in the twelfth and seventh legion, they slew all the centurions and captains of the bands. And had not Cæsar self taken his shield on his arm, and, flying in amongst the barbarous people, made a lane through them that fought before him : and the tenth legion also, seeing him in danger, run unto him from the top of the hill where they stood in battle, and broken the ranks of their enemies, there had not a Roman escaped alive that day. But taking example of Cæsar's
20 valiantness, they fought desperately beyond their power, and yet could not make the Nervians fly,
The Nervii slain by Cæsar. but they fought it out to the death, till they were all in a manner slain in the field. It is written that of threescore thousand fighting men, there escaped only but five hundred : and of four hundred gentlemen and counsellors of the Romans, but three saved. The Senate understanding it at Rome, ordained that they should do sacrifice unto the gods, and keep feasts
30 and solemn processions fifteen days together without intermission, having never made the like ordinance at Rome for any victory that ever was

obtained : because they saw the danger had been marvellous great, so many nations rising as they did in arms together against him : and further, the love of the people unto him made his victory much more famous.

21. For when Cæsar had set his affairs at a stay in Gaul, on the other side of the Alps, he always used to lie about the river of Po in the winter time, to give direction for the establishing of things at Rome at his pleasure. For not only 10 they that made suit for offices at Rome were chosen Magistrates, by means of Cæsar's money which he gave them, with the which, bribing the people, they bought their voices, and when they were in office did all that they could to increase Cæsar's power and greatness : but the greatest and chiefest men also of the nobility The great lords of Rome came to Lucca to Cæsar. went into Lucca unto him ; as Pompey, Crassus, Appius, Prætor of Sardinia, and Nepos, Proconsul in Spain. Insomuch that there 20 were at one time sixscore sergeants carrying rods and axes before the Magistrates : and above two hundred Senators besides. There they fell in consultation, and determined that Pompey and Crassus should again be chosen Consuls the next year following. Furthermore they did appoint, that Cæsar should have money again delivered him to pay his army ; and besides, did prorogue the time of his government five years further. This was thought a very strange and an unreason- 30 able matter unto wise men ; for they themselves that had taken so much money of Cæsar,

persuaded the Senate to let him have money of the common treasure, as though he had had none before: yea, to speak more plainly, they compelled the Senate unto it, sighing and lamenting to see the decrees they passed. Cato was not there then, for they had purposely sent him before into Cyprus. Howbeit Favonius, that followed Cato's steps, when he saw that he could not prevail nor withstand them, he went out of the Senate in
 10 choler, and cried out amongst the people that it was a horrible shame. But no man did hearken to him: some for the reverence they bare unto Pompey and Crassus; and others, favouring Cæsar's proceedings, did put all their hope and trust in him: and therefore did quiet themselves, and stirred not.

22. Then Cæsar, returning into Gaul beyond the Alps unto his army, found there a great war in the country. For two great nations of Germany
 20 had not long before passed over the river of Rhine, to conquer new lands: and the one of
 Usipites and Tencteri, these people were called Usipites, and
 people of Germany. the other Tencteri. Now touching the battle which Cæsar fought with them, he himself doth describe it in his Commentaries, in this sort. That the barbarous people having sent ambassadors unto him to require peace for a certain time, they notwithstanding, against the law of arms,
 30 Cæsar's horsemen came and set upon him as he travelled put to flight. by the way, insomuch as eight hundred of their men of arms overthrew five thousand of his horsemen, who nothing at all mistrusted

their coming. Again, that they sent him other ambassadors to mock him once more: but that he kept them, and therewith caused his whole army to march against them, thinking it a folly and madness to keep faith with such traitorous barbarous breakers of leagues. Canutius writeth, that the Senate appointing again to do new sacrifice, processions, and feasts, to give thanks to the gods for this victory, Cato was of contrary opinion, that Cæsar should be delivered into the hands of the barbarous people, for to purge their city and commonwealth of this breach of faith, and to turn the curse upon him that was the author of it. Of these barbarous people, which came over the Rhine (being about the number of four hundred thousand persons) they were all in manner slain, saving a very few of them, that flying from the battle got over the river of Rhine again, who were received by the Sigambrians, another people of the Germans.

The Usipites
and Tencteri
slain by
Cæsar.

Sigambri, a
people of the
Germans.

23. Cæsar taking this occasion against them, lacking no goodwill of himself besides, to have the honour to be counted the first Roman that ever passed over the river of Rhine with an army, he built a bridge over it. This river is marvellous broad, and runneth with great fury; and in that place specially where he built his bridge, for there it is of a great breadth from one side to the other: and it hath so strong and swift a stream besides, that men casting down great bodies of trees into the

Cæsar made
a bridge over
the river of
Rhine.

river (which the stream bringeth down with it) did with the great blows and force thereof marvellously shake the posts of the bridge he had set up. But to prevent the blows of those trees, and also to break the fury of the stream, he made a pile of great wood above the bridge a good way, and did forcibly ram them into the bottom of the river; so that in ten days' space he had set up and finished his bridge of the goodliest carpenters' 10 work, and most excellent invention to see, that could be possibly thought or devised. Then, passing over his army upon it, he found none that durst any more fight with him. For the Suevians, which were the warlikest people of all Germany, had gotten themselves with their goods into wonderful great valleys and bogs, full of woods and forests. Now when he had burnt all the country of his enemies, and confirmed a league with the confederates of the Romans, he returned 20 back again into Gaul after he had tarried eighteen days at the most in Germany, on the other side of the Rhine.

24. The journey he made also into England was a noble enterprise and very commendable.

Cæsar's journey into England. For he was the first that sailed the West Ocean with an army by sea, and that passed through the sea Atlanticum with his army, to make war in that so great and famous island (which many ancient writers would not 30 believe that it was so indeed, and did make them vary about it, saying it was but a fable and a lie), and was the first that enlarged the Roman Empire

beyond the earth inhabitable. For twice he passed over the narrow sea against the firm land of Gaul, and fighting many battles there, did hurt his enemies more than enrich his own men : because, of men hardly brought up and poor there was nothing to be gotten. Whereupon the war had no such success as he looked for, and therefore, taking pledges only of the King, and imposing a yearly tribute upon him, to be paid unto the people of Rome, he returned again into Gaul. 10 There he was no sooner landed, but he found letters ready to be sent over the sea unto him : in the which he was advertised from Rome of the death of his daughter, that was Pom-
 pey's wife. For the which Pompey and Cæsar both were marvellous sorrowful :
 and their friends mourned also, thinking that this alliance which maintained the commonwealth (that otherwise was very tickle) in good peace and concord, was now severed and broken asunder. 20 So the common people at Rome took the corpse of Julia, in despite of the Tribunes, and buried it in the field of Mars.

25. Now Cæsar, being driven to divide his army (that was very great) in sundry garrisons for the winter-time, and returning again
 into Italy as he was wont, all Gaul
 rebelled again, and had raised great armies in every quarter to set upon the Romans, and to assay if they could distress their forts where they
 lay in garrison. The greatest number and most warlike men of these Gauls that entered into

The death
 of Julia
 Cæsar's
 daughter.

The rebellion
 of the Gauls.

action of rebellion, were led by one Ambiorix :
 Cotta, and Titurius, with their army, slain. and first did set upon the garrisons of
 Cotta and Titurius, whom they slew,
 and all the soldiers they had about
 them. Then they went with threescore thousand
 fighting men to besiege the garrisons which
 Quintus Cicero had in his charge, and had almost
 taken them by force, because all the soldiers were
 every man of them hurt : but they were so valiant
 10 and courageous, that they did more than men (as
 they say) in defending of themselves. These
 news being come to Cæsar, who was far from
 thence at that time, he returned with all possible
 speed, and leaving seven thousand soldiers, made
 haste to help Cicero that was in such distress.
 The Gauls that did besiege Cicero, understanding or
 Cæsar's coming, raised their siege incontinently,
 to go and meet him : making account that he
 was but a handful in their hands, they were so
 20 few. Cæsar, to deceive them, still drew back, and
 made as though he fled from them, lodging in
 places meet for a captain that had but a few to
 fight with a great number of his enemies ; and
 commanded his men in no wise to stir out to
 skirmish with them, but compelled them to raise
 up the rampiers of his camp, and to fortify the
 gates as men that were afraid, because the
 enemies should the less esteem of them :
 Cæsar slew the Gauls led by Ambiorix. until at length he took opportunity by
 30 their disorderly coming to assail the
 trenches of his camp, (they were grown to such
 a presumptuous boldness and bravery,) and then,

sallying out upon them, he put them all to flight with slaughter of a great number of them. This did suppress all the rebellions of the Gauls in those parts, and furthermore he himself in person went in the midst of winter thither, where he heard they did rebel : for that there was come a new supply out of Italy of three whole legions, in their room which he had lost : of the which, two of them Pompey lent him, and the other legion he himself had levied in Gaul about the 10 river Po. During these stirs, brake forth the beginning of the greatest and most dangerous war that he had in all Gaul, the which had been secretly practised of long time by the chiefest and most warlike people of that country, who had levied a wonderful great power. For everywhere they levied multitudes of men, and great riches besides, to fortify their strongholds. Furthermore, the country where they rose was very ill to come unto, 20 and specially at that time, being winter ; when the rivers were frozen, the woods and forests covered with snow, the meadows drowned with floods, and the fields so deep of snow that no ways were to be found, neither the marrishes nor rivers to be discerned, all was so overflowed and drowned with water : all which troubles together were enough (as they thought) to keep Cæsar from setting upon the rebels. Many nations of the Gauls were of this conspiracy, but two of the 30 chiefest were the Arvernians and Carnutes : who had chosen Vercingetorix for their lieutenant-

The second
rebellion of
the Gauls
against
Cæsar.

general, whose father the Gauls before had put to death, because they thought he
Vercingetorix captain of the rebels against Cæsar. aspired to make himself king. This

Vercingetorix, dividing his army into divers parts, and appointing divers captains over them, had gotten to take his part all the people and countries thereabouts, even as far as they that

* Some say, that this place is to be read in the Greek, πρὸς τὴν Ἀραῶν, which is, to the river of Saone. (Arar fl.) dwell towards the sea Adriatic *, having further determined (understanding that

10 Rome did conspire against Cæsar) to make all Gaul rise in arms against him.

So that if he had but tarried a little longer, until Cæsar had entered into his

civil wars, he had put all Italy in as great fear and danger as it was when the Cimbri did come and invade it. But Cæsar, that was valiant in all assays and dangers of war, and that was very skilful to take time and opportunity, so soon as he understood the news of this rebellion, he

20 departed with speed and returned back the self-same way which he had gone, making the barbarous people know that they should deal with an army invincible, and which they could not possibly withstand, considering the great speed he had made with the same in so sharp and hard a winter. For where they would not possibly have believed that a post or curreur could have come in so short a time from the place where he was unto them, they wondered when they saw

30 him burning and destroying the country, the towns, and strong forts, where he came with his army, taking all to mercy that yielded unto him :

until such times as the Aedui took arms against him, who before were wont to be called The Aedui rebel against the Romans. the brethren of the Romans, and were greatly honoured of them. Wherefore Cæsar's men, when they understood that they had joined with the rebels, they were marvellous sorry, and half discouraged. Thereupon Cæsar, departing from those parts, went through the country of the Lingones to enter the country of the Burgonians *, who were confederates of the * Sequani. 10 Romans, and the nearest unto Italy on that side, in respect of all the rest of Gaul. Thither the enemies came to set upon him and to environ him on all sides, with an infinite number of thousands of fighting men. Cæsar on the other side tarried their coming, and fighting with them a long time, he made them so afraid of him, that at length he overcame the barbarous Vercingetorix overthrown by Cæsar. people. But at the first, it seemeth notwithstanding, that he had received some over- 20 throw : for the Arvernians showed a sword hanged up in one of their temples, which they said they had won from Cæsar. Insomuch as Cæsar self coming that way by occasion, saw it, and fell a-laughing at it. But some of his friends going about to take it away, he would not suffer them, but bade them let it alone and touch it not, for it was an holy thing.

26. Notwithstanding, such as at the first had saved themselves by flying, the most The siege of Alesia. 30 part of them were gotten with their king into the city of Alesia, the which Cæsar went

and besieged, although it seemed inexpugnable, both for the height of the walls as also for the multitude of soldiers they had to defend it.

Cæsar's danger and wise policy. But now, during this siege, he fell into a marvellous great danger without, almost incredible. For an army of three hundred thousand fighting men, of the best men that were among all the nations of the Gauls, came against him being at the siege of Alesia, besides them
10 that were within the city, which amounted to the number of threescore and ten thousand fighting men at the least : so that perceiving he was shut in betwixt two so great armies, he was driven to fortify himself with two walls, the one against them of the city, and the other against them without. For if those two armies had joined
Cæsar's great victory at Alesia. together, Cæsar had been utterly undone. And therefore, this siege of Alesia, and the battle he won before it, did
20 deservedly win him more honour and fame than any other. For there, in that instant and extreme danger, he shewed more valiantness and wisdom than he did in any battle he fought before. But what a wonderful thing was this ! that they of the city never heard anything of them that came to aid them until Cæsar had overcome them : and furthermore, that the Romans themselves, which kept watch upon the wall that was built against the city, knew also no more of it than they, until
30 it was done, and that they heard the cries and lamentations of men and women in Alesia, when they perceived on the other side of the city such

a number of glistening shields of gold and silver, such store of bloody corslets and armours, such a deal of plate and moveables, and such a number of tents and pavilions after the fashion of the Gauls, which the Romans had gotten of their spoils in their camp! Thus suddenly was this great army vanished, as a dream or vision: where the most part of them were slain that day in battle. Furthermore, after that they within the city of Alesia had done great hurt to Cæsar and 10 themselves also, in the end they all yielded themselves. And Vercingetorix (he that ^{Alesia} yielded up ^{to Cæsar.} was their king and captain in all this war) went out of the gates excellently well armed, and his horse furnished with rich caparison accordingly, and rode round about Cæsar, who sat in his chair of estate. Then lighting from his horse, he took off his caparison and furniture, and unarmed himself, and laid all on the ground, and went and sat down at Cæsar's feet, and said never 20 a word. So Cæsar at length committed him as a prisoner taken in the wars, to lead him afterwards in the triumph at Rome.



POMPEY.

CHAPTER III.

CÆSAR'S STRUGGLE WITH POMPEY.

27. Now Cæsar had of long time determined to destroy Pompey, and Pompey him also. For Crassus being killed amongst the Parthians, who only did see that one of them two must needs
5 fall, nothing kept Cæsar from being the greatest person, but because he destroyed not Pompey, that was the greater: neither did anything let Pompey to withstand that it should not come to

pass, but because he did not first overcome Cæsar, whom only he feared. For till then, Pompey had not long feared him, but always before set light by him, thinking it an easy matter for him to put him down when he would, sith he had brought him to that greatness he was come unto. But Cæsar contrarily, having had that drift in his head from the beginning, like a wrestler that studieth for tricks to overthrow his adversary, he went far from Rome, to exercise himself in the wars of Gaul; where he did train his army, and presently by his valiant deeds did increase his fame and honour. By these means became Cæsar as famous as Pompey in his doings, and lacked no more to put his enterprise in execution, but some occasions of colour, which Pompey partly gave him, and partly also the time delivered him, but chiefly, the hard fortune and ill government at that time of the commonwealth at Rome. For they that made suit for honour and offices bought the voices of the people with ready money, which they gave out openly to usury, without shame or fear. Thereupon the common people that had sold their voices for money, came to the market-place at the day of election, to fight for him that had hired them: not with their voices, but with their bows, slings, and swords. So that the assembly seldom times brake up, but the pulpit for orations was defiled and sprinkled with the blood of them that were

The discord
betwixt Cæsar
and Pompey,
and the
cause of the
civil wars.

Cæsar's
craftiness.

10

The people's
voices bought
at Rome for
money.

30

slain in the market-place, the city remaining all that time without government of magistrate, like a ship left without a pilot. Insomuch as men of deep judgment and discretion, seeing such fury and madness of the people, thought themselves happy if the commonwealth were no worse troubled than with the absolute state of a monarchy and sovereign lord to govern them. Furthermore, there were many that were not afraid to speak it
 10 openly, that there was no other help to remedy the troubles of the commonwealth, but by the authority of one man only, that should command them all: and that this medicine must be ministered by the hands of him that was the gentlest physician, meaning covertly Pompey. Now Pompey used many fine speeches, making semblance as though he would none of it, and yet cunningly underhand did lay all the irons in the fire he could, to bring it to pass that he might be chosen
 20 Dictator. Cato finding the mark he shot at, and fearing lest in the end the people should be compelled to make him Dictator, he persuaded the Senate rather to make him sole Consul, that, contenting himself with that more just and lawful government, he should not covet the other unlawful. The Senate, following his counsel, did not only make him Consul, but further did prorogue his government of the provinces he had. For he had two provinces, all Spain and
 30 Africa, the which he governed by his lieutenants: and further, he received yearly of the common treasure, to pay his soldiers, a thousand

Pompey
governed
Spain and
Africa.

talents. Hereupon Cæsar took occasion also to send his men to make suit in his name for the consulship, and also to have the government of his provinces prorogued. Pompey at the first held his peace; but Marcellus and Lentulus (that otherwise hated Cæsar) withstood them, and, to shame and dishonour him, had much needless speech in matters of weight. Furthermore they took away the freedom from the colonies which Cæsar had lately brought unto the city of Novumcomum in Gaul towards Italy, where Cæsar not long before had lodged them. And moreover, when Marcellus was Consul, he made one of the senators in that city to be whipped with rods, who came to Rome about those matters: and said, he gave him those marks, that he should know he was no Roman citizen, and bade him go his way, and tell Cæsar of it.

Cæsar sueth
the second
time to be
Consul, and to
have his
government
prorogued.

28. After Marcellus' consulship, Cæsar, setting open his coffers of the treasure he had gotten among the Gauls, did frankly give it out amongst the magistrates at Rome, without restraint or spare. First, he set Curio the tribune clear out of debt: and gave also unto Paul the Consul a thousand five hundred talents, with which money he built that notable palace by the market-place, called Paul's Basilick, in the place of Fulvius' Basilick. Then Pompey, being afraid of this practice, began openly to procure, both by himself and his friends, that they should send Cæsar a successor: and moreover, he

Cæsar bribeth
the magis-
trates at
Rome.

sent unto Cæsar for his two legions of men of war, which he had lent him for the conquest of Gaul. Cæsar sent him them again, and gave every private soldier two hundred and fifty silver drachmas. Now, they that brought these two legions back from Cæsar, gave out ill and seditious words against him among the people, and did also abuse Pompey with false persuasions and vain hopes, informing him that he was marvellously desired and wished for in Cæsar's camp: and though in Rome, for the malice and secret spite which the governors there did bear him, he could hardly obtain that he desired, yet in Gaul he might assure himself, that all the army was at his commandment. They added further also, that if the soldiers there did once return over the mountains again into Italy, they would all straight come to him, they did so hate Cæsar, because he wearied them with too much labour and continual fight: and withal, for that they suspected he aspired to be king. These words breeding security in Pompey, and a vain conceit of himself, made him negligent in his doings, so that he made no preparation of war, as though he had no occasion to be afraid: but only studied to thwart Cæsar in speech, and to cross the suits he made. Howbeit Cæsar passed not of all this. For the report went, that one of Cæsar's captains which was sent to Rome to prosecute his suit, being at the Senate-door, and hearing that they denied to prorogue Cæsar's time of government which he sued for, clapping

his hand upon his sword, he said : " Sith you will not grant it him, this shall give it him." Notwithstanding, the requests that Cæsar propounded carried great semblance of reason with ^{Cæsar's requests unto the Senate.} them. For he said, that he was contented to lay down arms, so that Pompey did the like : and that both of them, as private persons, should come and make suit of their citizens to obtain honourable recompense : declaring unto them that, taking arms from him, and granting ¹⁰ them unto Pompey, they did wrongfully accuse him in going about to make himself a tyrant, and in the mean time to grant the other means to be a tyrant. Curio making these offers and persuasions openly before the people in the name of Cæsar, he was heard with great rejoicing and clapping of hands, and there were some that cast flowers and nosegays upon him when he went his way, as they commonly use to do unto any man, when he hath obtained victory and won the ²⁰ games. Then Antonius, one of the tribunes, brought a letter sent from Cæsar, and made it openly to be read in despite of the Consuls. But Scipio in the Senate, Pompey's father-in-law, made this motion : that if Cæsar did not dismiss his army by a certain day appointed him, the Romans should proclaim him an enemy unto Rome. Then the Consuls openly asked in the presence of the senators, if they thought it good that Pompey should dismiss his army : but few agreed to that ³⁰ demand. After that again they asked, if they liked that Cæsar should dismiss his army : thereto

they all in manner answered, "Yea, yea." But when Antonius requested again that both of them should lay down arms, then they were all indifferently of his mind. Notwithstanding, because Scipio did insolently behave himself, and Marcellus also, who cried, that they must use force of arms and not men's opinion against a thief, the Senate rose straight upon it without further determination; and men changed apparel through the
10 city because of this dissension, as they use to do in a common calamity. After that, there came other letters from Cæsar, which seemed much more reasonable: in the which he requested that they would grant him Gaul that lieth between the mountains of the Alps and Italy and Illyria, with two legions only, and then that he would request nothing else; until he made suit for the second Consulship. Cicero the orator, that was newly
20 come from the government of Cilicia, travailed to reconcile them together, and pacified Pompey the best he could: who told him he would yield to anything he would have him, so he did let him alone with his army. So Cicero persuaded Cæsar's friends to be contented, to take those two provinces, and six thousand men only, that they might be friends and at peace together. Pompey very willingly yielded unto it, and granted them. But Lentulus the Consul would not agree to it, but shamefully drave Curio and Antonius out of the
30 Senate: whereby they themselves gave Cæsar a happy occasion and colour as could be, stirring up his soldiers the more against them, when he

showed them these two noblemen and tribunes of the people, that were driven to fly, disguised like slaves, in a carrier's cart. For they were driven for fear to steal out of Rome, disguised in that manner. Now at that time Cæsar had not in all about him above five thousand footmen and three thousand horsemen : for the rest of his army he left on the other side of the mountains, to be brought after him by his lieutenants. So, considering that, for the execution of his enterprise, he should not need so many men of war at the first, but rather, suddenly stealing upon them, to make them afraid with valiantness, taking benefit of the opportunity of time ; because he should more easily make his enemies afraid of him, coming so suddenly when they looked not for him, than he should otherwise distress them, assailing them with his whole army, in giving them leisure to provide further for him : he commanded his captains and lieutenants to go before, without any other armour than their swords, to take the city of Ariminum (a great city of Gaul, being the first city men come to, when they come out of Gaul) with as little bloodshed and tumult as they could possible. Then, committing that force and army he had with him unto Hortensius, one of his friends, he remained a whole day together, openly in the sight of every man, to see the sword-players handle their weapons before him. At night he went into his lodging, and, bathing his body a little, came afterwards into the hall amongst them, and made merry a while with them whom

Antonius and Curio, tribunes of the people, fly from Rome to Cæsar.

he had bidden to supper. Then, when it was well forward night, and very dark, he rose from the table, and prayed his company to be merry, and no man to stir, for he would straight come to them again : howbeit he had secretly before commanded a few of his trustiest friends to follow him : not all together, but some one way, and some another way. He himself in the mean time took a coach he had hired, and made as though he
 10 would have gone some other way at the first, but suddenly he turned back again towards the city of Ariminum.

29. When he was come unto the little river of Rubicon, which divided Gaul on this side the Alps
Cæsar's doubtful thoughts at the river of Rubicon. from Italy, he stayed upon a sudden. For, the nearer he came to execute his purpose, the more remorse he had in his conscience, to think what an enterprise he took in hand : and his thoughts also fell out more doubtful,
 20 when he entered into consideration of the desperateness of his attempt. So he fell into many thoughts with himself, and spake never a word, waving sometime one way, sometime another way, and oftentimes changed his determination, contrary to himself. So did he talk much also with his friends he had with him, amongst whom was Asinius Pollio, telling him what mischiefs the beginning of this passage over that river would breed in the world, and how much their posterity, and they
 30 that lived after them, would speak of it in time to come. But at length, casting from him with a noble courage all those perilous thoughts to come,

and speaking these words which valiant men commonly say, that attempt dangerous and desperate enterprises : * "A man can be but once undone ; come on," he passed over the river ; and when he was come over, he ran with his coach and never stayed, so that before daylight he was within the city of Ariminum, and took it. The city of Ariminum being taken, and the rumour thereof dispersed through all Italy even as if it had been open war both by sea and land, and as if all the laws of Rome, together with the extreme bounds and confines of the same, had been broken up : a man would have said, that not only the men and women for fear, as experience proved at other times, but whole cities themselves, leaving their habitations, fled from one place to another through all Italy. And Rome itself also was immediately filled with the flowing repair of all the people their neighbours thereabouts, which came thither from all parts like droves of cattle, that there was neither officer nor magistrate that could any more command them by authority, neither by any persuasion of reason bridle such a confused and disorderly multitude : so that Rome had in manner destroyed itself for lack of rule and order. For in all places men were of contrary opinions, and there were dangerous stirs and tumults everywhere, because they that were glad of this trouble could keep in no certain place ; but, running up and down the city, when they met with others in divers places that seemed either to

* The Greek useth this phrase of speech : Cast the die.

Cæsar took the city of Ariminum. 10

Rome in uproar with Cæsar's coming. 20

be afraid or angry with this tumult (as otherwise it is impossible in so great a city) they flatly fell out with them, and boldly threatened them with that that was to come. Pompey himself, who at that time was not a little amazed, was yet much more troubled with the ill words some gave him on the one side, and some on the other. For some of them reproved him, and said, that he had done wisely, and had paid for his folly, because he had
10 made Cæsar so great and strong against him and the commonwealth. And other again did blame him, because he had refused the honest offers and reasonable conditions of peace which Cæsar had offered him, suffering Lentulus the Consul to abuse him too much. On the other side, Favonius spake unto him, and bade him stamp on the ground with his foot : for Pompey being one day in a bravery in the Senate, said openly : “ Let no man take thought for preparation of war ; for when he
20 listed, with one stamp of his foot on the ground, he would fill all Italy with soldiers.” This notwithstanding, Pompey at that time had a greater number of soldiers than Cæsar : but they would never let him follow his own determination. For they brought him so many lies, and put so many examples of fear before him, as if Cæsar had been already at their heels, and had won all : so that in the end he yielded unto them, and gave place to their fury and madness, determining (seeing all
30 things in such tumult and garboil) that there was no way but to forsake the city ; and thereupon commanded the Senate to follow him, and not a

man to tarry there, unless he loved tyranny more than his own liberty and the commonwealth. Thus the Consuls themselves, before they had done their common ^{Pompey fleeth from Rome.} sacrifices accustomed at their going out of the city, fled every man of them. So did likewise the most part of the senators, taking their own things in haste such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another. And there were some of them also that always ¹⁰ loved Cæsar, whose wits were then so troubled and besides themselves with the fear they had conceived, that they also fled, and followed the stream of this tumult, without manifest cause or necessity. But above all things it was a lamentable sight to see the city itself, that in this fear and trouble was left at all adventure, as a ship tossed in storm of sea, forsaken of her pilots and despairing of her safety. This their departure being thus miserable, yet men esteemed their ²⁰ banishment (for the love they bare unto Pompey) to be their natural country, and reckoned Rome no better than Cæsar's camp. At that time also Labienus, who was one of ^{Labienus forsook Cæsar, and fled to Pompey.} Cæsar's greatest friends, and had been always used as his lieutenant in the wars of Gaul, and had valiantly fought in his cause, he likewise forsook him then, and fled unto Pompey. But Cæsar sent his money and carriage after him, and then went and encamped before the city of Cor- ³⁰ finium, the which Domitius kept with thirty cohorts or ensigns. When Domitius saw he was

besieged, he straight thought himself but undone ; and despairing of his success, he bade a physician, a slave of his, give him poison. The physician gave him a drink, which he drank, thinking to have died. But shortly after, Domitius hearing them report what clemency and wonderful courtesy Cæsar used unto them he took, repented him then that he had drunk this drink, and began to lament and bewail his desperate resolution taken to die.

10 The physician did comfort him again, and told him that he had taken a drink only to make him sleep, but not to destroy him. Then Domitius rejoiced, and went straight and yielded himself unto Cæsar ; who gave him his life, but he notwithstanding stole away immediately and fled unto Pompey. When these

Domitius escaped from Cæsar, and fled to Pompey. news were brought to Rome, they did marvellously rejoice and comfort them that still remained there : and moreover there were of

20 them that had forsaken Rome, which returned thither again. In the meantime Cæsar did put all Domitius' men in pay, and he did the like through all the cities, where he had taken any captains that levied men for Pompey.

30. Now Cæsar, having assembled a great and dreadful power together, went straight where he thought to find Pompey himself. But

Pompey flieth into Epirus. Pompey tarried not his coming, but fled into the city of Brundisium ; from whence he had

30 sent the two Consuls before, with that army he had, unto Dyrrachium : and he himself also went thither afterwards, when he understood that Cæsar was

come, as you shall hear more amply hereafter in his life. Cæsar lacked no good will to follow him, but, wanting ships to take the seas, he returned forthwith to Rome : so that in less than three score days he was lord of all Italy, without any bloodshed. Who when he was come to Rome, and found it much quieter than he looked for, and many senators there also, he courteously intreated them, and prayed them to send unto Pompey to pacify all matters between them, upon reasonable conditions. 10 But no man did attempt it, either because they feared Pompey, for that they had forsaken him, or else for that they thought Cæsar meant not as he spake, but that they were words of course to colour his purpose withal. And when Metellus also, one of the tribunes, would not suffer him to take any of the common treasure out of the temple of Saturn, but told him that it was against the law : "Tush," said he, "time of war, and law, are two things. If this that I do," quoth he, "do
'Silent leges
inter arma' 20
 offend thee, then get thee hence for this time : for war cannot abide this frank and bold speech. But when wars are done, and that we are all quiet again, then thou shalt speak in the pulpit what thou wilt : and yet I do tell thee this of favour, impairing so much my right ; for thou art mine, both thou, and all them that have risen against me, and whom I have in my hands." When he had spoken thus unto Metellus, Cæsar tak-
 he went to the temple-door where the eth money
 treasure lay, and, finding no keys there, out of the
 of Saturn. 30
 he caused smiths to be sent for, and made them

break open the locks. Metellus thereupon began again to withstand him, and certain men that stood by praised him in his doing : but Cæsar at length, speaking bigly to him, threatened him he would kill him presently, if he troubled him any more : and told him furthermore, " Young man," quoth he, " thou knowest it is harder for me to tell it thee, than to do it." That word made Metellus quake for fear, that he got him away roundly ; and
 10 ever after that Cæsar had all at his commandment for the wars. From thence he went into Spain, to make war with Petreius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants : first to get their armies and provinces into his hands which they governed, that afterwards he might follow Pompey the better, leaving never an enemy behind him. In this journey he was oftentimes himself in danger through the ambushes that were laid for him in divers strange sorts and
 20 places, and likely also to have lost all his army for lack of victuals. All this notwithstanding, he never left following of Pompey's lieutenants, provoking them to battle and intrenching them in, until he had gotten their camp and armies into his hands, albeit that the lieutenants themselves fled unto Pompey. When Cæsar returned again to Rome, Piso his father-in-law gave him counsel to send ambassadors unto Pompey, to treat for peace. But Isauricus, to flatter Cæsar, was against it.

30 31. Cæsar being then created Dictator by the Senate, called home again all the banished men, and restored their children

Cæsar's
 journey into
 Spain,
 against
 Pompey's
 lieutenants.

Cæsar
 Dictator.

to honour, whose fathers before had been slain in Sylla's time : and did somewhat cut off the usuries that did oppress them ; and besides, did make some such other ordinances as those, but very few. For he was Dictator but eleven days only, and then did yield it up of himself, and made Cæsar and Isauricus Consuls. himself Consul with Servilius Isauricus, and after that determined to follow the wars. All the rest of his army he left, coming on the way, behind him, and went himself before with six ¹⁰ hundred horse, and five legions only of footmen, in the winter quarter, about the month of January, which after the Athenians is called Posideon. Then having passed over the sea Ionium, and landed his men, he won the cities of Oricus and Apollonia. Then he sent Cæsar goeth into the kingdom of Epirus. his ships back again unto Brundisium, to transport the rest of his soldiers that could not come with that speed he did. They, as they came by the way, (like men whose strength of body and ²⁰ lusty youth was decayed) being wearied with so many sundry battles as they had fought with their enemies, complained of Cæsar in this sort :—"To what end and purpose doth this man Complaints of the old soldiers against Cæsar. hale us after him, up and down the world, using us like slaves and drudges? It is not our armour, but our bodies that bear the blows away : and what, shall we never be without our harness on our backs, and our shields on our arms? Should not Cæsar think, at the least when he seeth ³⁰ our blood and wounds, that we are all mortal men, and that we feel the misery and pains that other

men do feel? And now, even in the dead of winter, he putteth us unto the mercy of the sea and tempest, yea, which the gods themselves cannot withstand, as if he fled before his enemies and pursued them not." Thus spending time with this talk, the soldiers, still marching on, by small journeys came at length unto the city of Brundisium. But when they were come, and found that Cæsar had already passed over the sea, then
10 they straight changed their complaints and minds. For they blamed themselves, and took on also with their captains, because they had not made them make more haste in marching: and sitting upon the rocks and cliffs of the sea, they looked over the main sea, towards the realm of Epirus, to see if they could discern the ships returning back to transport them over. Cæsar in the mean time, being in the city of Apollonia, having but a small army to fight with Pompey, it grieved him for that
20 the rest of his army was so long a-coming, not knowing what way to take. In the end he followed
A great
adventure of
Cæsar. a dangerous determination, to embark unknown in a little pinnace of 12 oars only, to pass over the sea again unto Brundisium, the which he could not do without great danger, considering that all that sea was full of Pompey's ships and armies. So he took ship in the night, apparelled like a slave, and went aboard upon this little pinnace, and said never a word, as if he had been
30 some poor man of mean condition. The pinnace
Anius fl. lay in the mouth of the river of Anius, the which commonly was wont to be very calm and

quiet, by reason of a little wind that came from the shore, which every morning drave back the waves far into the main sea. But that night (by ill fortune) there came a great wind from the sea, that overcame the land wind, insomuch as, the force and strength of the river fighting against the violence of the rage and waves of the sea, the encounter was marvellous dangerous, the water of the river being driven back and rebounding upward, with great noise and danger in turning of the water. There-
 upon the master of the pinnace, seeing that he could not possibly get out of the mouth of this river, bade the mariners to cast about again, and to return against the stream. Cæsar hearing that, straight discovered himself unto the master of the pinnace, who at the first was amazed when he saw him; but Cæsa then taking him by the hand, said unto him, "Good fellow, be of good cheer, and forwards hardily; fear not, for thou hast Cæsar and his fortune with thee." Then the mariners, forgetting
 the danger of the storm they were in, laid on load with oars, and laboured for life what they could against the wind, to get out of the mouth of this river. But at length, perceiving they laboured in vain, and that the pinnace took in abundance of water, and was ready to sink, Cæsar then, to his great grief, was driven to return back again: who when he was returned unto his camp, his soldiers came in great companies unto him, and were very sorry that he mistrusted he was not able with them
 alone to overcome his enemies, but would put his person in danger to go fetch them that were

absent, putting no trust in them that were present. In the mean time Antonius arrived, and brought with him the rest of his army from Brundisium.

32. Then Cæsar, finding himself strong enough, went and offered Pompey battle, who was passingly well lodged for victualling of his camp both by sea and land. Cæsar on the other side, who had no great plenty of

Cæsar's
dangers and
troubles in
the realm of
Epirus.

victuals at the first, was in a very hard case :
10 insomuch as his men gathered roots, and mingled them with milk, and ate them. Furthermore, they did make bread of it also ; and sometime when they skirmished with the enemies, and came along by them that watched and warded, they cast of their bread into their trenches, and said that, as long as the earth brought forth such fruits, they would never leave besieging of Pompey. But Pompey straitly commanded them, that they should neither carry those words nor bread into their camp,
20 fearing lest his men's hearts would fail them, and that they would be afraid when they should think of their enemies' hardness, with whom they had to fight, sith they were weary with no pains, no more than brute beasts. Cæsar's men did daily skirmish hard to the trenches of Pompey's camp, in the which Cæsar had ever the better, saving once only,

Cæsar's
army fled
from
Pompey.

at which time his men fled with such fear, that all his camp that day was in great hazard to have been cast away.
30 For Pompey came on with his battle upon them, and they were not able to abide it, but were fought with, and driven into their camp, and their trenches

were filled with dead bodies, which were slain within the very gate and bulwarks of their camp, they were so valiantly pursued. Cæsar stood before them that fled, to make them to turn head again, but he could not prevail. For when he would have taken the ensigns to have stayed them, the ensign-bearers threw them down on the ground: so that the enemies took two and thirty of them, and Cæsar's self also escaped hardly with life. For, striking a great big soldier that fled by him, com- 10 manding him to stay and turn his face to his enemy: the soldier, being afraid, lift up his sword to strike at Cæsar. But one of Cæsar's pages, preventing him, gave him such a blow with his sword that he strake off his shoulder. Cæsar that day was brought unto so great extremity, that (if Pompey had not either for fear, or spiteful fortune, left off to follow his victory, and retired into his camp, being contented to have driven his enemies into their camp) returning to his camp with his friends, 20 he said unto them: "The victory this day had been our enemies', if they had had a captain that could have told how to have overcome." So when he was come to his lodging, he went to bed, and that night troubled him more than any night that ever he had. For still his mind ran with great sorrow of the foul fault he had committed in leading of his army, of self-will to remain there so long by the sea-side, his enemies being the 30 stronger by sea, considering that he had before him a goodly country, rich and plentiful of all

Cæsar's
words of
Pompey's
victory.
Cæsar
troubled in
mind after
his loss.

things, and goodly cities of Macedon and Thes-
saly: and had not the wit to bring the war from
thence, but to lose his time in a place, where he
was rather besieged of his enemies for lack of
victuals than that he did besiege them by force
of arms. Thus fretting and chafing to see himself
so straighted with victuals, and to think of his ill
luck, he raised his camp, intending to go set upon
Scipio, making account, that either he should
10 draw Pompey to battle against his will, when he
had not the sea at his back to furnish him with
plenty of victuals; or else that he should easily
overcome Scipio, finding him alone, unless he were
Pompey's
determination
for the war. aided. This remove of Cæsar's camp
did much encourage Pompey's army
and his captains, who would needs in any case
have followed after him, as though he had been
overcome and had fled. But for Pompey himself,
he would in no respect hazard battle, which was
20 a matter of so great importance. For finding
himself so well provided of all things necessary
to tarry time, he thought it better to draw this
war out in length by tract of time, the rather to
consume this little strength that remained in
Cæsar's army: of the which, the best men were
marvellous well trained and good soldiers, and
for valiantness at one day's battle were incom-
parable. But on the other side again, to remove
here and there so oft, and to fortify their camp
30 where they came, and to besiege any wall, or to
keep watch all night in their armour: the most
part of them could not do it, by reason of their

age, being then unable to away with their pains, so that the weakness of their bodies did also take away the life and courage of their hearts. Furthermore, there fell a pestilent disease among them, that came by ill meats hunger drove them to eat. Yet was not this the worst: for besides, he had no store of money, neither could tell how to come by victuals; so that it seemed, in all likelihood, that in very short time he would come to nothing. For these respects Pompey would in no case ¹⁰ fight, and yet had he but Cato only of his mind in that, who stuck in it the rather, because he would avoid shedding of his countrymen's blood. For when Cato had viewed the dead bodies slain in the camp of his enemies at the last skirmish that was between them, the which were no less than a thousand persons, he covered his face, and went away weeping. All other but he, contrarily, fell out with him, and blamed him because he so long refrained from battle: and some pricked ²⁰ him forward, and called him Agamemnon, and king of kings, saying that he delayed this war in this sort, because ^{Pompey called Agamemnon, and king of kings.} he would not leave his authority to command them all, and that he was glad always to see many captains round about him, which came to his lodging to honour him and wait upon him. And Favonius also, a hare-brained fellow, frantically counterfeiting the round and plain speech of Cato, made as though he was marvellous angry, ³⁰ and said: "Is it not great pity, that we shall not eat this year of Tusculum figs, and all for

Pompey's ambitious mind to reign alone?" and Afranius, who not long before was but lately come out of Spain (where, because he had but ill success, he was accused of treason, that for money he had sold his army unto Cæsar), he went busily asking, "why they fought not with that merchant, unto whom they said he had sold the province of Spain?" So that Pompey, with these kinds of speeches, against his will, was driven to follow
 10 Cæsar to fight with him. Then was Cæsar at the first marvellously perplexed and troubled by the way, because he found none that would give him any victuals, being despised of every man for the late loss and overthrow he had received. But
 The city of
 Gomphi in
 Thessaly. after he had taken the city of Gomphi in Thessaly, he did not only meet with plenty of victuals to relieve his army with, but he strangely also did rid them of their disease. For the soldiers meeting with plenty of wine, drinking
 20 hard, and making merry, drave away the infection of the pestilence. For they disposed themselves unto dancing, masking, and playing the Bacche-rians by the way, insomuch that drinking drunk they overcame their disease, and made their bodies new again.

33. When they both came into the country of Pharsalia, and both camps lay before each other, Pompey returned again to his former determination, and the rather, because he had ill
 Pompey's
 dream in
 Pharsalia. signs and tokens of misfortune in his
 30 sleep. For he thought in his sleep that, when he entered into the theatre, all the Romans received

him with great clapping of hands. Whereupon they that were about him grew to such boldness and security, assuring themselves of victory, that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio in a bravery contended between themselves for the chief bishopric which Cæsar had. Furthermore, there were divers that sent unto Rome to hire the nearest houses unto the marketplace, as being the fittest places for Prætors and Consuls: making their account already, that those offices could not scape them, incontinently after the wars. But besides those, the young gentlemen and Roman knights were marvellous desirous to fight, that were bravely mounted, and armed with glistering gilt armours, their horses fat and very finely kept, and themselves goodly young men, to the number of seven thousand, where the gentlemen of Cæsar's side were but one thousand only. The number of his footmen also were much after the same reckoning. For he had five and forty thousand against two and twenty thousand. Wherefore Cæsar called his soldiers together, and told them how Cornificius was at hand who brought two whole legions, and that he had fifteen ensigns led by Calenus, the which he made to stay about Megara and Athens. Then he asked them, if they would tarry for that aid or not, or whether they would rather themselves alone venture battle. The soldiers cried out to him, and prayed him not to defer battle, but rather to devise some fetch to make the enemy fight as soon as he

The security
of the
Pompeians.

Pompey's
army as
great again
as Cæsar's. 20

could. Then as he sacrificed unto the gods, for the purifying of his army, the first beast was no sooner sacrificed but his soothsayer assured him that he should fight within three days. Cæsar asked him again, if he saw in the sacrifices any lucky sign or token of good luck. The soothsayer answered: "For that, thou shalt answer thyself better than I can do: for the gods do promise us a marvellous great change and alteration of things that are now, unto another clean contrary. For if thou beest well now, dost thou think to have worse fortune hereafter? and if thou be ill, assure thyself thou shalt have better."

A wonder
seen in the
element,
before the
battle in
Pharsalia.

The night before the battle, as he went about midnight to visit the watch, men saw a great firebrand in the element, all of a light fire, that came over Cæsar's camp, and fell down in Pompey's. In the morning also, when they relieved the watch, they heard
20 a false alarm in the enemies' camp, without any apparent cause: which they commonly call a sudden fear, that makes men besides themselves. This notwithstanding, Cæsar thought not to fight that day, but was determined to have raised his camp from thence, and to have gone towards the city of Scotussa: and his tents in his camp were already overthrown, when his scouts came in with great speed, to bring him news that his enemies were preparing themselves to fight. Then was
30 he very glad, and after he had made his prayers unto the gods to help him that day, he set his men in battle ray, and divided them into three

squadrons, giving the middle battle unto Domitius Calvinus, and the left wing unto Antonius, and placed himself in the right wing, choosing his place to fight in the tenth legion. But seeing that against that his enemies had set all their horsemen, he was half afraid when he saw the great number of them, and so brave besides. Wherefore he closely made six ensigns to come from the rereward of his battle, whom he had laid as an ambush behind his right wing, having first appointed his soldiers what they should do when the horsemen of the enemies came to give them charge. On the other side Pompey placed himself in the right wing of his battle, gave the left wing unto Domitius, and the middle battle unto Scipio his father-in-law. Now all the Roman knights (as we have told you before) were placed in the left wing, of purpose to environ Cæsar's right wing behind, and to give their hottest charge there, where the general of their enemies was: making their account, that there was no squadron of footmen, how thick soever they were, that could receive the charge of so great a troop of horsemen, and that at the first onset they should overthrow them all, and march upon their bellies. When the trumpets on either side did sound the alarm to the battle, Pompey commanded his footmen that they should stand still without stirring, to receive the charge of their enemies, until they came to throwing of their darts. Wherefore Cæsar afterwards said, that

Cæsar's army
and his order
of battle, in
the fields of
Pharsalia.

Pompey's
army and his
order of battle.

An ill counsel
and foul fault
of Pompey.

Pompey had committed a foul fault, not to consider that the charge which is given running with fury, besides that it giveth the more strength also unto their blows, doth set men's hearts also on fire: for the common hurling of all the soldiers that run together, is unto them as a box on the ear that sets men on fire. Then Cæsar, making his battle march forward to give the onset, saw one of his captains (a valiant man, and very
10 skilful in war, in whom he had also great confidence) speaking to his soldiers that he had under his charge, encouraging them to fight like men that day. So he called him aloud by his name, and said unto him: "Well, Caius Crassinius, what hope shall we have to-day? how are we determined, to fight it out manfully?" Then Crassinius, casting up his hand, answered him aloud: "This day, O Cæsar, we shall have a noble victory, and I promise thee ere night thou shalt
20 praise me alive or dead." When he had told him so, he was himself the foremost man that gave charge upon his enemies, with his band following of him, being about six score men; and making a lane through the foremost ranks with great slaughter, he entered far into the battle of his enemies, until that, valiantly fighting in this sort, he was thrust in at length into the mouth with a sword, that the point of it came out again at his
neck. Now the footmen of both battles
30 <sup>The battle
in the fields
of Pharsalia.</sup> being come to the sword, the horsemen of the left wing of Pompey did march as fiercely also, spreading out their troops, to compass in the

right wing of Cæsar's battle. But before they began to give charge, the six ensigns of footmen which Cæsar had laid in ambush behind him, they began to run full upon them, not throwing away their darts far off, as they were wont to do, neither striking their enemies on the thighs nor on the legs, but to seek to hit them full in the eyes, and to hurt them in the face, as Cæsar had taught them. For he hoped that these lusty young gentlemen that had not been often in the wars nor were used to see ^{Cæsar's stratagem.} 10 themselves hurt, and the which, being in the prime of their youth and beauty, would be afraid of those hurts, as well for the fear of the present danger to be slain, as also for that their faces should not for ever be deformed. As indeed it came to pass, for they could never abide that they should come so near their faces with the points of their darts, but hung down their heads for fear to be hit with them in their eyes, and turned their 20 backs, covering their face because they should not be hurt. Then, breaking of themselves, they began at length cowardly to fly, and were occasion also of the loss of all the rest of Pompey's army. For they that had broken them ran immediately to set upon the squadron of the footmen behind, and slew them. Then Pompey, seeing his horsemen, from the other wing of his battle, so scattered and dispersed, flying away, forgot that he was any more Pompey the Great, ^{Cæsar overcometh Pompey.} 30 which he had been before, but was rather like a man whose wits the gods had taken

from him, being afraid and amazed with the slaughter sent from above, and so retired into his tent, speaking never a word, and sat there to see the end of this battle; until at the length all his army being overthrown and put to flight, the enemies came, and got up upon the rampiers and defence of his camp, and fought hand to hand with them that stood to defend the same. Then as a man come to himself again, he spake but
10 this only word: "What, even into our camp?" So in haste, casting off his coat-armour and apparel of a general, he shifted him, and put on
Pompey's flight. such as became his miserable fortune, and so stole out of his camp. Furthermore, what he did after this overthrow, and how he had put himself into the hands of the Egyptians, by whom he was miserably slain, we have set it forth at large in his life. Then Cæsar, entering into Pompey's camp, and seeing the
20 bodies laid on the ground that were slain, and others also that were a-killing, said, fetching a great sigh: "It was their own doing, and against my will. For Caius Cæsar, after he had won so many famous conquests, and overcome so many great battles, had been utterly condemned notwithstanding, if he had departed from his army." Asinius Pollio writeth, that he spake these words then in Latin, which he afterwards wrote in Greek; and saith furthermore, that the most part
30 of them which were put to the sword in the camp were slaves and bondmen, and that there were not slain in all this battle above six thousand soldiers.

As for them that were taken prisoners, Cæsar did put many of them amongst his legions, and did pardon also many men of estimation, among whom Brutus was one, that afterwards slew Cæsar himself: and it is reported that Cæsar was very sorry for him, when he could not immediately be found after the battle, and that he rejoiced again when he knew he was alive, and that he came to yield himself unto him. Cæsar had many signs and tokens of victory before this battle, but the notablest of all other that happened to him, was in the city of Tralles. For in the temple of Victory, within the same city, there was an image of Cæsar, and the earth all about it very hard of itself, and was paved besides with hard stone: and yet some say that there sprang up a palm hard by the base of the same image. In the city of Padua, Caius Cornelius, an excellent soothsayer (a countryman and friend of Titus Livius the historiographer), was by chance at that time set to behold the flying of birds. He (as Livy reporteth) knew the very time when the battle began, and told them that were present, "Even now they give the onset on both sides, and both armies do meet at this instant." Then sitting down again, to consider of the birds, after he had bethought him of the signs, he suddenly rose up on his feet, and cried out as a man possessed with some spirit: "O Cæsar, the victory is thine." Every man wondering to see him, he

Brutus that
slew Cæsar
taken
prisoner at
the battle of
Pharsalia.

Signs and
tokens of
Cæsar's
victory. 10

A strange
tale of
Cornelius an
excellent
prognosticator. 20

30

took the crown he had on his head, and made an oath that he would never put it on again, till the event of his prediction had proved his art true. Livy testifieth that it came so to pass. Cæsar afterwards giving freedom unto the Thessalians, in respect of the victory which he won in their country, he followed after Pompey. When he came into Asia, he gave freedom also unto the Cnidians for Theopompus' sake, who had gathered
10 the fables together. He did release Asia also the third part of the tribute which the inhabitants paid unto the Romans. Then he came into Alexandria after Pompey was slain : and detested Theodotus that presented him Pompey's head, and turned his head aside because he would not see it. Notwithstanding, he took his seal, and
Cæsar's
clemency in
victory. beholding it, wept. Furthermore, he
courteously used all Pompey's friends
and familiars, who wandering up and down the
20 country, were taken of the king of Egypt, and won them all to be at his commandment. Continuing these courtesies, he wrote unto his friends at Rome, that the greatest pleasure he took of his victory was, that he daily saved the lives of some of his countrymen that bare arms against him.

CHAPTER IV.

CÆSAR IN EGYPT, AFRICA AND SPAIN.

34. And for the war he made in Alexandria, some say he needed not to have done it, but that he willingly did it for the love of Cleopatra : wherein he won little honour, and besides did put his person in great danger. Others do lay the fault upon the king of Egypt's ministers, but specially on Pothinus, who bearing the greatest sway of all the king's servants, after he had caused Pompey to be slain, and driven Cleopatra from the court, secretly laid wait all the ways he could, how he might likewise kill Cæsar. Wherefore, Cæsar, hearing an inkling of it, began thenceforth to spend all the night long in feasting and banqueting, that his person might be in the better safety. But besides all this, Pothinus spake many things openly, not to be borne, only to shame Cæsar, and to stir up the people to envy him. For he made his soldiers have the worst and oldest wheat that could be gotten : then, if they did complain of it, he told them they must be contented, seeing they eat at another man's

The cause
of Cæsar's
war in
Alexandria.

Pothinus
caused
Pompey to
be slain.

10

20

cost. And he would serve them also at the table in treen and earthen dishes, saying, 'that Cæsar had away all their gold and silver, for a debt that the king's father (that then reigned) did owe unto him : ' which was a thousand seven hundred and fifty myriads ; whereof Cæsar had before forgiven seven hundred and fifty thousand unto his children. Howbeit then he asked a million to pay his soldiers withal. Thereto Pothinus answered
 10 him, that at that time he should do better to follow his other causes of greater importance, and afterwards that he should at more leisure recover his debt, with the king's good will and favour. Cæsar replied unto him, and said, that he would not ask counsel of the Egyptians for his affairs, but would be paid : and thereupon secretly sent
 Cleopatra for Cleopatra, which was in the country,
 came to to come unto him. She, only taking
 Cæsar.
 Apollodorus Sicilian of all her friends, took a little
 20 boat, and went away with him in it in the night, and came and landed hard by the foot of the castle. Then having no other means to come
 Cleopatra into the court without being known,
 trussed she laid herself down upon a mattress
 up in a or flockbed, which Apollodorus her
 mattress, and friend tied and bound up together like
 so brought to Cæsar
 to Cæsar upon Apollo-
 upon Apollo- dorus' back.
 dorus' back. a bundle with a great leather thong,
 and so took her upon his back and brought her thus hampered in this fardle unto Cæsar in
 30 castle gate. This was the first occasion (as it is reported) that made Cæsar to love her : but afterwards, when he saw her sweet conversation and

pleasant entertainment, he fell then in further liking with her, and did reconcile her again unto her brother the king, with condition that they two jointly should reign together. Upon this new reconciliation, a great feast being prepared, a slave of Cæsar's that was his barber, the fearfullest wretch that lived, still busily prying and listening abroad in every corner, being mistrustful by nature, found that Pothinus and Achillas did lie in wait to kill his master Cæsar. This being ¹⁰ proved unto Caesar, he did set such sure watch about the hall, where the feast was made, that in fine he slew Pothinus himself. Achillas on the other side saved himself, and fled unto the king's camp, where he raised a marvellous dangerous and difficult war for Cæsar: because he, having then but a few men about him, was to fight against a great and strong city. The first danger he fell into was the want of water: for that his enemies had stopped the mouth of the pipes, the which ²⁰ conveyed the water into the castle. The second danger he had was, that seeing his enemies came to take his ships from him, he was driven to repulse that danger with fire, the which burnt the arsenal where the ships lay, and that notable library of Alexandria withal. ^{The great library of Alexandria burnt.} The third danger was in the battle by sea, that was fought by the tower of Phar: where meaning to help his men that fought by sea, he leaped from the pier into a boat. Then the ³⁰ Egyptians made towards him with their oars on every side: but he, leaping into the sea, with

great hazard saved himself by swimming. It is

Cæsar's
swimming
with books
in his hand.

said, that then, holding divers books in his hand, he did never let them go, but kept them always upon his head above water, and swam with the other hand, notwithstanding that they shot marvellously at him, and was driven sometime to duck into the water: howbeit the boat was drowned presently. In fine, the king coming to his men that made
10 war with Cæsar, he went against him and gave him battle, and won it with great slaughter and effusion of blood. But for the king, no man could

Cæsar made
Cleopatra
queen of
Egypt.

ever tell what became of him after. Thereupon Cæsar made Cleopatra his sister queen of Egypt.

35. From thence he went into Syria, and so going into Asia, there it was told him that Domitias was overthrown in battle by Pharnaces, the son of king Mithridates, and was fled out of the
20 realm of Pontus with a few men with him: and that this king Pharnaces, greedily following his victory, was not contented with the winning of Bithynia and Cappadocia, but further would needs attempt to win Armenia the less, procuring all those kings, princes, and governors of the provinces thereabouts to rebel against the Romans. There-

Cæsar's vic-
tory of king
Pharnaces.

upon Cæsar went thither straight with three legions, and fought a great battle with king Pharnaces by the city of Zela, where he
30 slew his army, and drave him out of all the realm of Pontus. And because he would advertise one of his friends of the suddenness of this victory,

he only wrote three words unto Anitius at Rome : "Veni, vidi, vici:" to wit, "I came, I saw, I overcame." These three words, ending all with like sound and letter in the Latin, have a certain short grace more pleasant to the ear than can be well expressed in any other tongue. After this he returned again into Italy and came to Rome, ending his year for the which he was made dictator the second time, which office before was 10 never granted for one whole year, but unto him. Then was he chosen consul for the year following. Afterwards he was very ill spoken of, for that his soldiers in a mutiny having slain two Prætors, Cosconius and Galba, he gave them no other punishment for it, but instead of calling them soldiers he named them citizens, and gave unto every one of them a thousand drachmas a man, and great possessions in Italy. He was much 20 misliked also for the desperate parts and madness of Dolabella, for the covetousness of Anitius, for the drunkenness of Antonius and Cornificius; which made Pompey's house be pulled down and builded up again, as a thing not big enough for him, wherewith the Romans were marvellously offended. Cæsar knew all this well enough, and would have been contented to have redressed them: but to bring his matters to pass, he pretended he was driven to serve his turn by such instruments.

Cæsar writeth
three words to
certify his
victory.

36. After the battle of Pharsalia, Cato and Scipio being fled into Africa, king Juba joined

with them, and levied a great puissant army. Wherefore Cæsar determined to make war with them : and, in the midst of winter, he Cæsar's journey into Africa, against Cato and Scipio. took his journey into Sicily. There, because he would take all hope from his captains and soldiers to make any long abode there, he went and lodged upon the very sands by the seaside, and with the next gale of wind that came, he took the sea with three thousand footmen
 10 and a few horsemen. Then having put them on land, unawares to them he hoisted sail again to fetch the rest of his army, being afraid lest they should meet with some danger in passing over ; and meeting them midway, he brought them all into his camp. Where, when it was told him that his enemies trusted in an ancient oracle, which said, that it was predestined unto the family of the Scipios to be conquerors in Africa : either of purpose to mock Scipio, the general of his enemies,
 20 or otherwise, in good earnest, to take the benefit of this name (given by the oracle) unto himself, in all the skirmishes and battles fought, he gave the charge of his army unto a man of mean quality and account, called Scipio Salutius, who came of the race of Scipio African, and made him always general when he fought. For he was eftsoons compelled to weary and harry his enemies, for that neither his men in his camp had corn enough, nor the beasts forage, but the soldiers were driven
 30 Cæsar's troubles in Africa. to take sea-weeds, called *Alga* : and (washing away the brackishness thereof with fresh water, putting to it a little herb called

dog's-tooth) to cast it so to their horses to eat. For the Numidians (which are light horsemen, and very ready of service) ^{Alga and dog's tooth given to the horse to eat.} being a great number together, would be on a sudden in every place, and spread all the fields over thereabout, so that no man durst peep out of the camp to go for forage. And one day, as the men of arms were staying to ^{Cæsar's dangers in Africa.} behold an African doing notable things in dancing and playing with the flute (they being ¹⁰ set down quietly to take their pleasure of the view thereof, having in the meantime given their slaves their horses to hold) the enemies stealing suddenly upon them, compassed them in round about, and slew a number of them in the field, and chasing the other also that fled, followed them pellmell into their camp. Furthermore, had not Cæsar himself in person, and Asinius Pollio with him, gone out of the camp to the rescue and stayed them that fled, the war that day had been ended. ²⁰ There was also another skirmish where his enemies had the upper hand, in the which it is reported that Cæsar, taking the ensign-bearer by the collar that carried the eagle in his hand, stayed him by force, and turning his face, told him: "See, there be thy enemies." These advantages did lift up Scipio's heart aloft, and gave him courage to hazard battle: and leaving Afranius on the one hand of him, and king Juba on the other hand, both their camps lying near ³⁰ together, he did fortify himself by the city of Thapsus, above the lake, to be a safe refuge

for them all in this battle. But whilst he was busy intrenching of himself, Cæsar, having marvellous speedily passed through a great country full of wood by by-paths which men would never have mistrusted: he stole upon some behind, and suddenly assailed the other before, so that he overthrew them all, and made them fly. Then following the first good hap he had, he went forthwith to set upon the camp of Afranius, the
 10 which he took at the first onset, and the camp of the Numidians also, king Juba being fled.

Cæsar's great
victory and
small loss.

Thus in a little piece of the day only, he took three camps, and slew fifty thousand of his enemies, and lost but fifty of his soldiers. In this sort is set down the effect of this battle by some writers. Yet others do write also, that Cæsar self was not there in person at the execution of this battle. For as he did set his
 20 Cæsar
troubled with
the falling
sickness. men in battle ray, the falling sickness took him, whereunto he was given; and therefore feeling it coming, before he was overcome withal, he was carried into a castle not far from thence where the battle was fought, and there took his rest till the extremity of his disease had left him. Now for the Prætor and Consuls that scaped from this battle, many of them being taken prisoners did kill themselves, and others also Cæsar did put to death: but he being specially desirous of all men else to have Cato
 30 alive in his hands, he went with all possible speed unto the city of Utica, whereof Cato was governor, by means whereof he was not at the battle. Not-

withstanding being certified by the way that Cato had slain himself with his own hands, he then made open show that he was very sorry for it, but why or wherefore, no man could tell. Cæsar was sorry for the death of Cato. Cæsar wrote against Cato, being dead. But this is true, that Cæsar said at that present time: "Oh Cato, I envy thy death, because thou didst envy my glory to save thy life." This notwithstanding, the book that he wrote afterwards against Cato, being dead, did show no very great affection nor ¹⁰ pitiful heart towards him. For how could he have pardoned him, if living he had had him in his hands, that being dead did speak so vehemently against him? Notwithstanding, men suppose he would have pardoned him, if he had taken him alive, by the clemency he showed unto Cicero, Brutus, and divers others that had borne arms against him. Some report that he wrote that book, not so much for any private malice he had to his death, as for civil ambition, upon ²⁰ this occasion. Cicero had written a book in praise of Cato, which he entitled 'Cato.' This book in likelihood was very well liked of, by reason of the eloquence of the orator that made it, and of the excellent subject thereof. Cæsar therewith was marvellously offended, thinking that to praise him of whose death he was author was even so much as to accuse himself: and therefore he wrote a letter ³⁰ against him, and heaped up a number of accusations against Cato, and entitled the book 'Anticaton.' Both these books have favourers unto this day,

some defending the one for the love they bare to Cæsar, and others allowing the other for Cato's sake.

37. Cæsar, being now returned out of Africa, first of all made an oration to the people wherein he greatly praised and commended this his last victory, declaring unto them that he had conquered so many countries unto the empire of Rome, that he could furnish the commonwealth
 10 yearly with two hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and twenty hundred thousand pound weight of oil. Then he made three triumphs, the one for Egypt, the other for the kingdom of Pontus, and the third for Africa: not because
 Juba, the son of king Juba, a famous historio-grapher. he had overcome Scipio there, but king Juba. Whose son being likewise called Juba, being then a young boy, was led captivè in the show of this triumph. But this his imprisonment fell out happily for him: for, where
 20 he was but a barbarous Numidian, by the study he fell unto when he was prisoner, he came afterwards to be reckoned one of the wisest historio-graphers of the Grecians. After these three triumphs ended, he very liberally rewarded his
 Cæsar's feasting of the Romans. soldiers: and to curry favour with the people, he made great feasts and common sports. For he feasted all the Romans at one time, at two and twenty thousand tables, and gave them the pleasure to see divers sword-players to
 30 fight at the sharp, and battles also by sea, for the remembrance of his daughter Julia, which was dead long before. Then after all these sports,

he made the people (as the manner was) to be mustered : and where there were, at the last musters before, three hundred and twenty thousand citizens, at this muster there were only but a hundred and fifty thousand. Such misery and destruction had this civil war brought unto the commonwealth of Rome, and had consumed such a number of Romans, not speaking at all of the mischiefs and calamities it had brought unto all the rest of Italy, and to the 10 other provinces pertaining to Rome.

38. After all these things were ended, he was chosen Consul the fourth time, and went into Spain to make war with the sons of Pompey : who were yet but very young, but had notwithstanding raised a marvellous great army together, and showed they had manhood and courage worthy to command such an army, insomuch as they put Cæsar himself in great danger of his life. The greatest battle that was fought between them in all this war, was by the city of Munda. For then Cæsar, seeing his men sorely distressed, and having their hands full of their enemies, he ran into the press among his men that fought, and cried out unto them : "What, are ye not ashamed to be beaten and taken prisoners, yielding yourselves with your own hands to these young boys?" and so, with all the force he could make, having with much ado put his enemies to flight, he slew above thirty thousand of them in the field, and lost of his own men

The muster
taken of the
Romans.

Cæsar
Consul the
fourth time.

Battle
fought be-
twixt Cæsar
and the
young
Pompeys,
by the city
of Munda. 20

Cæsar's
victory of
the sons of
Pompey. 30

a thousand of the best he had. After this battle he went into his tent and told his friends, that he had often before fought for victory, but, this last time now, that he had fought for the safety of his own life. He won this battle on the very feast-day of the Bacchanalians, in the which men say that Pompey the Great went out of Rome, about four years before, to begin this civil war. For his sons, the younger scaped from the battle ; but, within few
10 days after, Didius brought the head of the elder. This was the last war that Cæsar made. But the triumph he made into Rome for the
Cæsar's triumph of Pompey's sons. same did as much offend the Romans, and more, than any thing that ever he had done before : because he had not overcome captains that were strangers, nor barbarous kings, but had destroyed the sons of the noblest man of Rome, whom fortune had overthrown. And because he had plucked up his race by the roots, men did
20 not think it meet for him to triumph so for the calamities of his country, rejoicing at a thing for the which he had but one excuse to allege in his defence unto the gods and men, that he was compelled to do that he did. And the rather they thought it not meet, because he had never before sent letters nor messengers unto the commonwealth at Rome, for any victory that he had ever won in all the civil wars : but did always for shame refuse the glory of it.

CHAPTER V.

CÆSAR'S DICTATORSHIP AND DEATH.

39. This notwithstanding, the Romans, inclining to Cæsar's prosperity and taking the bit in the mouth, supposing that to be ruled by one man alone, it would be a good means for them to take breath a little, after so many troubles and miseries as they had abidden in these civil wars, they chose him perpetual Dictator. This was a ^{Cæsar} plain tyranny: for to this absolute power ^{Dictator} of Dictator, they added this, never to be afraid to ^{perpetual.} be deposed. Cicero pronounced before the Senate, ¹⁰ that they should give him such honours as were meet for a man: howbeit others afterwards added too honours beyond all reason. For men striving who should most honour him, they made him hateful and troublesome to themselves that most favoured him, by reason of the unmeasurable greatness and honours which they gave him. Thereupon it is reported, that even they that most hated him were no less favourers and furtherers of his honours than they that most flattered him, ²⁰ because they might have greater occasions to rise, and that it might appear they had just cause and

colour to attempt that they did against him. And now for himself, after he had ended his civil wars, he did so honourably behave himself, that there was no fault to be found in him: and therefore methinks, amongst other honours they gave him, he rightly deserved this, that they should build him a temple of Clemency; to thank him for his courtesy he had used unto them in his victory. For he par-

10 doned many of them that had borne arms against him, and furthermore, did prefer some of them to honour and office in the commonwealth: as,

Cassius and
Brutus
Prætors.

amongst others, Cassius and Brutus, both the which were made Prætors. And, where Pompey's images had been thrown down, he caused them to be set up again: whereupon Cicero said then, that, Cæsar setting up Pompey's images again, he made his own to stand the surer.

And when some of his friends did counsel him to
20 have a guard for the safety of his person, and some also did offer themselves to serve him, he would

Cæsar's
saying of
death.
Goodwill of
subjects, the
best guard
and safety
for princes.

never consent to it, but said: "It was better to die once, than always to be afraid of death." But to win himself the love and goodwill of the people, as the honourablest guard and best safety he could have, he made common feasts again and general distributions of corn. Furthermore, to gratify the soldiers also, he replenished many cities
30 again with inhabitants, which before had been destroyed, and placed them there that had no place to repair unto: of the which the noblest and chiefest

cities were these two, Carthage and Corinth : and it chanced also, that like as aforetime they had been both taken and destroyed together, even so were they both set on foot again, and replenished with people, at one self time. And as for great personages, he won them also, promising some of them to make them Prætors and Consuls in time to come ; and unto others honours and preferments : but to all men generally good hope, seeking all the ways he could to make every man contented with 10 his reign. Insomuch as one of his Consuls called Maximus, chancing to die a day before his consulship ended, he declared Caninius Rebilus

Caninius
Rebilus
consul for
one day.

Consul only for the day that remained. So, divers going to his house (as the manner was) to salute him, and to congratulate with him of his calling and preferment, being newly chosen officer, Cicero pleasantly said : "Come, let us make haste, and begone thither before his consulship come out." Furthermore, Cæsar being born 20 to attempt all great enterprises, and having an ambitious desire besides to covet great honours, the prosperous good success he had of his former conquests bred no desire in him quietly to enjoy the fruits of his labours ; but rather gave him the hope of things to come, still kindling more and more in him thoughts of greater enterprises and desire of new glory, as if that which he had present were stale and nothing worth. This humour of his was no other but an emulation with himself as with another 30 man, and a certain contention to overcome the things he prepared to attempt. For he was

determined, and made preparation also, to make war with the Persians. Then, when he had overcome them, to pass through Hyrcania (compassing in the sea *Caspium*, and mount Caucasus) into the realm of Pontus, and so to invade Scythia : and, overrunning all the countries and people adjoining unto high Germany, and Germany itself, at length to return by Gaul into Italy, and so to enlarge the Roman empire round, that it might be every way
10 compassed in with the great sea *Oceanum*. But whilst he was preparing for this voyage, he attempted to cut the bar of the strait of Peloponnesus, in the market-place where the city of Corinth standeth. Then he was minded to bring the rivers of Anio and Tiber straight from Rome unto the city of Circei, with a deep channel and high banks cast up on either side, and so to fall into the sea at Terracina, for the better safety and commodity of the merchants that came to Rome to traffic
20 there. Furthermore, he determined to drain and sew all the water of the marrishes betwixt the cities of Nomentum and Setia, to make firm land, for the benefit of many thousands of people : and on the sea-coast next unto Rome, to cast great high banks, and to cleanse all the haven about Ostia of rocks and stones hidden under the water, and to take away all other impediments that made the harbour dangerous for ships, and to make new havens and arsenals meet to harbour such ships as did continually traffic thither. All these things were
30 purposed to be done, but took no effect.

40. But the ordinance of the calendar, and

reformation of the year, to take away all confusion of time, being exactly calculated by the mathematicians and brought to perfection, was a great commodity unto all men. For the Romans, using then the ancient computation of the year, had not only such uncertainty and alteration of the month and times, that the sacrifices and yearly feasts came, by little and little, to seasons contrary for the purpose they were ordained : but also, in the revolution of the 10 sun (which is called *Annus Solaris*) no other nation agreed with them in account : and, of the Romans themselves, only the priests understood it. And therefore when they listed, they suddenly (no man being able to control them) did thrust in a month above their ordinary number, which they called in old time *Mercedonius*. Some say that Numa Pompilius was the first that devised this way, to put a month between : but it was a weak remedy, and did little help the correction of the errors that 20 were made in the account of the year, to frame them to perfection. But Cæsar, committing this matter unto the philosophers and best expert mathematicians at that time, did set forth an excellent and perfect calendar, more exactly calculated than any other that was before : the which the Romans do use until this present day, and do nothing err as others in the difference of time. But his enemies notwithstanding, that envied his greatness, did not stick to find fault 30 withal. As Cicero the orator, when one said, "to-morrow the star *Lyra* will rise : " "Yea," said

he, "at the commandment of Cæsar ;" as if men were compelled so to say and think by Cæsar's edict.

Why Cæsar
was hated.

But the chiefest cause that made him mortally hated was the covetous desire he had to be called king : which first gave the people just cause, and next his secret enemies honest colour, to bear him ill-will. This notwithstanding, they that procured him this honour and dignity gave it out among the people that it was
10 written in the Sibylline prophecies, 'how the Romans might overcome the Parthians, if they made war with them and were led by a king, but otherwise that they were unconquerable.' And furthermore they were so bold besides, that, Cæsar returning to Rome from the city of Alba, when they came to salute him, they called him king. But the people being offended, and Cæsar also angry, he said he was not called king, but Cæsar. Then every man keeping silence, he went his way
20 heavy and sorrowful. When they had decreed divers honours for him in the Senate, the Consuls and Prætors, accompanied with the whole assembly of the Senate, went unto him in the market-place, where he was set by the pulpit for orations, to tell him what honours they had decreed for him in his absence. But he, sitting still in his majesty, disdaining to rise up unto them when they came in, as if they had been private men, answered them : 'that his honours had more need to be cut off
30 than enlarged.' This did not only offend the Senate, but the common people also, to see that he should so lightly esteem of the magistrates

of the commonwealth: insomuch as every man that might lawfully go his way departed thence very sorrowfully. Thereupon also Cæsar rising departed home to his house, and tearing open his doublet-collar, making his neck bare, he cried out aloud to his friends, 'that his throat was ready to offer to any man that would come and cut it.' Notwithstanding it is reported, that afterwards, to excuse his folly, he imputed it to his disease, saying, 'that their wits are not 10 perfect which have this disease of the falling evil, when standing on their feet they speak to the common people, but are soon troubled with a trembling of their body, and a sudden dimness and giddiness.' But that was not true, for he would have risen up to the Senate, but Cornelius Balbus one of his friends (or rather a flatterer) would not let him, saying: "What, do you not remember that you are Cæsar, and will you not let them reverence you and do their duties?" 20

41. Besides these occasions and offences, there followed also his shame and reproach, abusing the tribunes of the people in this sort. At that time the feast *Lupercalia* was celebrated, the The feast
Lupercalia. which in old time men say was the feast of shepherds or herdmen, and is much like unto the feast of the Lycæans in Arcadia. But howsoever it is, that day there are divers noblemen's sons, young men, (and some of them magistrates themselves that govern then), which 30 run naked through the city, striking in sport them they meet in their way with leather thongs, hair

and all on, to make them give place. And many noblewomen and gentlewomen also go of purpose to stand in their way, and do put forth their hands to be stricken, as scholars hold them out to their schoolmaster to be stricken with the ferula. Cæsar sat to behold that sport upon the pulpit for orations, in a chain of gold, apparelled in

triumphant manner. Antonius, who was
 10 Antonius, being Consul, was one of the
 Luperkalians. that ran this holy course. So when he
 presented the diadem came into the market-place, the people
 to Cæsar. made a lane for him to run at liberty,
 and he came to Cæsar, and presented him a
 diadem wreathed about with laurel. Whereupon
 there rose a certain cry of rejoicing, not very
 great, done only by a few appointed for the
 purpose. But when Cæsar refused the diadem,
 then all the people together made an outcry of
 joy. Then Antonius offering it him again, there
 20 was a second shout of joy, but yet of a few. But
 when Cæsar refused it again the second time, then
 all the whole people shouted. Cæsar having made
 this proof, found that the people did not like of it,
 and thereupon rose out of his chair, and com-
 manded the crown to be carried unto Jupiter in
 the Capitol. After that, there were set up images
 of Cæsar in the city, with diadems upon their
 heads like kings. Those the two tribunes, Flavius
 and Marullus, went and pulled down, and further-
 30 more, meeting with them that first saluted Cæsar
 as king, they committed them to prison. The
 people followed them rejoicing at it, and called

them Brutes, because of Brutus, who had in old time driven the kings out of Rome, and that brought the kingdom of one person unto the government of the Senate and people. Cæsar was so offended withal, that he deprived Marullus and Flavius of their tribuneships, and accusing them, he spake also against the people, and called them Bruti and Cumani, to wit, beasts and fools.

42. Hereupon the people went straight unto Marcus Brutus, who from his father came of the 10 first Brutus, and by his mother of the house of the Servilians, a noble house as any was in Rome, and was also nephew and son-in-law of Marcus Cato. Notwithstanding, the great honours and favour Cæsar showed unto him kept him back that of himself alone he did not conspire nor consent to depose him of his kingdom. For Cæsar did not only save his life after the battle of Pharsalia, when Pompey fled, and did at his request also save 20 many more of his friends besides: but furthermore, he put a marvellous confidence in him. For he had already preferred him to the Prætorship for that year, and furthermore was appointed to be Consul the fourth year after that, having through Cæsar's friendship obtained it before Cassius, who likewise made suit for the same: and Cæsar also, as it is reported, said in this contention, "indeed Cassius hath alleged best reason, but yet shall he not be chosen before 30 Brutus." Some one day accusing Brutus while he practised this conspiracy, Cæsar would not

Cæsar saved
Marcus
Brutus' life,
after the
battle of
Pharsalia.

hear of it, but, clapping his hand on his body, told them, "Brutus will look for this skin :"

Brutus
conspireth
against
Cæsar.

meaning thereby, that Brutus for his virtue deserved to rule after him, but yet that, for ambition's sake, he would not shew himself unthankful or dishonourable. Now they that desired change, and wished Brutus only their prince and governor above all other, they durst not come to him themselves to tell him what they
10 would have him to do, but in the night did cast sundry papers into the Prætor's seat, where he gave audience, and the most of them to this

Cassius
stirreth up
Brutus
against Cæsar.

effect : "Thou sleepest, Brutus, and art not Brutus indeed." Cassius, finding Brutus' ambition stirred up the more
by these seditious bills, did prick him forward and egg him on the more, for a private quarrel he had conceived against Cæsar : the circumstance where-
of we have set down more at large in Brutus' life.
20 Cæsar also had Cassius in great jealousy, and suspected him much : whereupon he said on a time to his friends, "what will Cassius do, think ye? I like not his pale looks." Another time when Cæsar's friends complained unto him of Antonius and Dolabella, that they pretended some mischief towards him : he answered them again, "As for those fat men and smooth-combed heads," quoth he, "I never reckon of them ; but these pale-visaged and carrion lean people, I fear
30 them most," meaning Brutus and Cassius.

43. Certainly destiny may easier be foreseen than avoided, considering the strange and wonder-

ful signs that were said to be seen before Cæsar's death. For, touching the fires in the element, and spirits running up and down in the night, and also the solitary birds to be seen at noondays sitting in the great market-place, are not all these signs perhaps worth the noting, in such a wonderful chance as happened? But Strabo the philosopher writeth, that divers men were seen going up and down in fire: and furthermore, that there was a slave of 10 the soldiers that did cast a marvellous burning flame out of his hand, insomuch as they that saw it thought he had been burnt; but when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. Cæsar self also doing sacrifice unto the gods, found that one of the beasts which was sacrificed had no heart: and that was a strange thing in nature, how a beast could live without a heart. Furthermore there was a certain soothsayer that had given Cæsar warning long time 20 afore, to take heed of the day of the Ides of March, (which is the fifteenth of the month), for on that day he should be in great danger. That day being come, Cæsar going unto the Senate-house, and speaking merrily unto the soothsayer, told him, "the Ides of March be come:" "so they be," softly answered the soothsayer, "but yet are they not past." And the very day before, Cæsar, supping with Marcus Lepidus, sealed certain letters, as he was wont to do, at the board: so, 30 talk falling out amongst them, reasoning what death was best, he, preventing their opinions, cried

Predictions
and foreshows
of Cæsar's
death.

Cæsar's day
of his death
prognosticated
by a
soothsayer.

out aloud, "death unlooked for." Then going to bed the same night, as his manner was, all the windows and doors of his chamber flying open, the noise awoke him, and made him afraid when he saw such light : but more, when he heard his

The dream
of Calpurnia,
Cæsar's wife. wife Calpurnia, being fast asleep, weep and sigh, and put forth many fumbling lamentable speeches : for she dreamed that Cæsar was slain, and that she had him in her arms.

10 Others also do deny that she had any such dream, as, amongst other, Titus Livius writeth that it was in this sort : the Senate having set upon the top of Cæsar's house, for an ornament and setting forth of the same, a certain pinnacle, Calpurnia dreamed that she saw it broken down, and that she thought she lamented and wept for it. Inso-

much that, Cæsar rising in the morning, she prayed him, if it were possible, not to go out of the doors that day, but to adjourn the session of

20 the Senate until another day. And if that he made no reckoning of her dream, yet that he would search further of the soothsayers by their sacrifices, to know what should happen him that day. Thereby it seemed that Cæsar likewise did fear or suspect somewhat, because his wife Calpurnia until that time was never given to any fear and superstition : and that then he saw her so troubled in mind with this dream she had. But

much more afterwards, when the soothsayers having

30 sacrificed many beasts one after another, told him that none did like them : then he determined to send Antonius to adjourn the session of the Senate.

44. But in the mean time came Decius Brutus, surnamed Albinus, in whom Cæsar put such confidence, that in his last will and testament he had appointed him to be his next heir, and yet was of the conspiracy with Cassius and Brutus: he, fearing that if Cæsar did adjourn the session that day, the conspiracy would be betrayed, laughed at the soothsayers, and reproved Cæsar, saying, "that he gave the Senate occasion to dislike with him, and ¹⁰ that they might think he mocked them, considering that by his commandment they were assembled, and that they were ready willingly to grant him all things, and to proclaim him king of all his provinces of the Empire of Rome out of Italy, and that he should wear his diadem in all other places both by sea and land. And furthermore, that if any man should tell them from him they should depart for that present time, and return again when Calpurnia should have better dreams, what would his enemies ²⁰ and ill-willers say, and how could they like of his friends' words? And who could persuade them otherwise, but that they would think his dominion a slavery unto them and tyrannical in himself? And yet if it be so," said he, "that you utterly dislike of this day, it is better that you go yourself in person, and, saluting the Senate, to dismiss them till another time." There-withal he took Cæsar by the hand, and brought him out of his house. Cæsar was not gone far from his house, but a bondman, a stranger, did what he could to

Decius Brutus
Albinus'
persuasion
to Cæsar.

Decius Brutus
brought
Cæsar into
the Senate-
house.

The tokens
of conspiracy ³⁰
against
Cæsar.

speak with him : and when he saw he was put back
 by the great press and multitude of people that
 followed him, he went straight into his house, and
 put himself into Calpurnia's hands, to be kept till
 Cæsar came back again, telling her that he had
 greater matters to impart unto him. And one
 Artemidorus also, born in the isle of Cnidos, a
 doctor of rhetoric in the Greek tongue, who by
 means of his profession was very familiar with cer-
 10 tain of Brutus' confederates, and therefore knew the
 most part of all their practices against Cæsar, came
 and brought him a little bill, written with his own
 hand, of all that he meant to tell him. He,
 marking how Cæsar received all the supplications
 that were offered him, and that he gave them
 straight to his men that were about him, pressed
 nearer to him, and said : "Cæsar, read this
 memorial to yourself, and that quickly, for they be
 matters of great weight, and touch you nearly."
 20 Cæsar took it of him, but could never read it,
 though he many times attempted it, for the number
 of people that did salute him : but holding it still
 in his hand, keeping it to himself, went on withal
 into the Senate-house. Howbeit others are of
 opinion, that it was some man else that gave him
 that memorial, and not Artemidorus, who did what
 he could all the way as he went to give it Cæsar,
 but he was always repulsed by the people. For
 these things, they may seem to come
 30 The place
where
Cæsar was
slain. by chance ; but the place where the
 murder was prepared, and where the
 Senate were assembled, and where also there stood

up an image of Pompey dedicated by himself amongst other ornaments which he gave unto the theatre, all these were manifest proofs, that it was the ordinance of some god that made this treason to be executed, specially in that very place. It is also reported, that Cassius (though otherwise he did favour the doctrine of Epicurus) beholding the image of Pompey, before they entered into the action of their traitorous enterprise, he did softly call upon it to aid him : but the instant danger of 10 the present time, taking away his former reason, did suddenly put him into a furious passion, and made him like a man half besides himself. Now Antonius, that was a faithful friend to Cæsar, and a valiant man besides of his hands, him Decius Brutus Albinus entertained out of the Senate-house, having begun a long tale of set purpose. So Cæsar coming into the house, all the Senate stood up on their feet to do him honour. Then part of Brutus' company 20 and confederates stood round about Cæsar's chair, and part of them also came towards him, as though they made suit with Metellus Cimber, to call home his brother again from banishment : and thus prosecuting still their suit, they followed Cæsar till he was set in his chair. Who denying their petitions, and being offended with them one after another, because the more they were denied the more they pressed upon him and were the earnestest with him, Metellus at length, taking his gown with 30 both his hands, pulled it over his neck, which was the sign given the confederates to set upon him.

Antonius,
Cæsar's
faithful
friend.

Then Casca, behind him, strake him in the neck

Casca the
first that
struck at
Cæsar.

with his sword ; howbeit the wound was
not great nor mortal, because it seemed
the fear of such a devilish attempt did
amaze him and take his strength from him, that he
killed him not at the first blow. But Cæsar,
turning straight unto him, caught hold of his sword
and held it hard ; and they both cried out, Cæsar
in Latin : “ O vile traitor Casca, what doest thou ? ”
10 and Casca, in Greek, to his brother : “ Brother, help
me.” At the beginning of this stir they that were
present, not knowing of the conspiracy, were so
amazed with the horrible sight they saw, they had
no power to fly, neither to help him, nor so much as
once to make an outcry. They on the other side
that had conspired his death compassed him in on
every side with their swords drawn in their hands,
that Cæsar turned him no where but he was stricken
at by some, and still had naked swords in his face,
20 and was hackled and mangled among them, as a
wild beast taken of hunters. For it was agreed
among them that every man should give him a
wound, because all their parts should be in this
murder : and then Brutus himself gave him one
wound about his middle. Men report also, that
Cæsar did still defend himself against the rest,
running every way with his body : but when he
saw Brutus with his sword drawn in his hand, then
he pulled his gown over his head, and made no
30 more resistance, and was driven either casually or
purposely, by the counsel of the conspirators, against
the base whereupon Pompey’s image stood, which

ran all of a gore-blood till he was slain. Thus it seemed that the image took just revenge of Pompey's enemy, being thrown down on the ground at his feet, and yielding up the ghost there, for the number of wounds he had upon him. For it is reported, that he had three and twenty wounds upon his body : and divers of the conspirators did hurt themselves, striking one body with so many blows.

*Cæsar slain,
and had
23 wounds
upon him.*

45. When Cæsar was slain, the Senate (though 10 Brutus stood in the midst amongst them, as though he would have said something touching this fact) presently ran out of the house, and flying, filled all the city with marvellous fear and tumult. Insomuch as some did shut to the doors, others forsook their shops and warehouses, and others ran to the place to see what the matter was : and others also that had seen it ran home to their houses again. But Antonius and Lepidus, which were two of Cæsar's chiefest friends, secretly conveying themselves away, 20 fled into other men's houses and forsook their own. Brutus and his confederates on the other side, being yet hot with this murder they had committed, having their swords drawn in their hands, came all in a troop together out of the Senate and went into the market-place, not as men that made countenance to fly, but otherwise boldly holding up their heads like men of courage, and called to the people to defend their liberty, and stayed to speak with every great 30 personage whom they met in their way. Of them, some followed this troop and went amongst them,

*The murderers of
Cæsar do go
to the
market-place.*

as if they had been of the conspiracy, and falsely challenged part of the honour with them : amongst them was Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther. But both of them were afterwards put to death for their vain covetousness of honour, by Antonius and Octavius Cæsar the younger ; and yet had no part of that honour for the which they were both put to death, neither did any man believe that they were any of the confederates or of counsel with
10 them. For they that did put them to death took revenge rather of the will they had to offend than of any fact they had committed. The next morning, Brutus and his confederates came into the market-place to speak unto the people, who gave them such audience, that it seemed they neither greatly reprov'd nor allowed the fact : for by their great silence they showed that they were sorry for Cæsar's death, and also that they did reverence Brutus. Now the Senate granted
20 general pardon for all that was past ; and, to pacify every man, ordained besides, that Cæsar's funerals

Cæsar's
funerals.

should be honoured as a god, and established all things that he had done, and gave certain provinces also and convenient honours unto Brutus and his confederates, whereby every man thought all things were brought to good peace and quietness again. But when they had opened Cæsar's testament, and found a liberal legacy of money bequeathed unto every citizen of Rome, and
30 that they saw his body (which was brought into the market-place) all bemangled with gashes of swords, then there was no order to keep the multitude and

common people quiet, but they plucked up forms, tables, and stools, and laid them all about the body ; and setting them afire, burnt the corse. Then when the fire was well kindled, they took the fire-brands, and went unto their houses that had slain Cæsar, to set them afire. Others also ran up and down the city to see if they could meet with any of them, to cut them in pieces : howbeit they could meet with never a man of them, because they had locked themselves up safely in their houses. 10 There was one of Cæsar's friends called Cinna, that had a marvellous strange and terrible dream the night before. He dreamed that ^{Cinna's dream of Cæsar.} Cæsar bade him to supper, and that he refused and would not go : then that Cæsar took him by the hand, and led him against his will. Now Cinna, hearing at that time that they burnt Cæsar's body in the market-place, notwithstanding that he feared his dream, and had an ague on him besides, he went into the market-place to honour 20 his funerals. When he came thither, one of the mean sort asked him what his name was ? He was straight called by his name. The first man told it to another, and that other unto another, so that it ran straight through them all, that he was one of them that murdered Cæsar : (for indeed one of the traitors to Cæsar was also called Cinna as himself) wherefore taking him for Cinna the murderer, they fell upon him with such ^{The murder of Cinna.} fury that they presently dispatched him 30 in the market-place. This stir and fury made Brutus and Cassius more afraid than of all that

was past, and therefore within few days after they departed out of Rome: and touching their doings afterwards, and what calamity they suffered till their deaths, we have written it at large in the life

Cæsar 56
years old
at his death.

of Brutus. Cæsar died at six and fifty years of age, and Pompey also lived not passing four years more than he. So he reaped no other fruit of all his reign and dominion, which he had so vehemently desired all his life and
10 pursued with such extreme danger, but a vain name only and a superficial glory, that procured him the envy and hatred of his country.

46. But his great prosperity and good fortune that favoured him all his lifetime, did continue afterwards in the revenge of his death,
The revenge
of Cæsar's
death. pursuing the murderers both by sea and land, till they had not left a man more to be executed, of all them that were actors or counsellors in the conspiracy of his death. Furthermore,

20 of all the chances that happen unto men upon the earth, that which came to Cassius above all other, is most to be wondered at: for he, being overcome in battle at the journey of Philippi, slew himself with the selfsame sword, wherewith he struck Cæsar. Wonders seen in the elements after Cæsar's death. A great comet.
30 never seen more. Also the brightness of the sun was darkened, the which all that year through rose very pale and shined not out, whereby

it gave but small heat : therefore the air being very cloudy and dark, by the weakness of the heat that could not come forth, did cause the earth to bring forth but raw and unripe fruit, which rotted before it could ripen. But above all, the ghost that appeared unto Brutus showed plainly, that the gods were offended with the murder of Cæsar. The vision was thus : Brutus being ready to pass over his army from the city of ^{Brutus' vision.}

Abydos to the other coast lying directly against it, he slept every night (as his manner was) in his tent ; and being yet awake, thinking of his affairs (for by report he was as careful a captain and lived with as little sleep as ever man did) he thought he heard a noise at his tent door, and looking towards the light of the lamp that waxed very dim, he saw a horrible vision of a man, of a wonderful ^{A spirit appeared unto Brutus.} greatness and dreadful look, which at the first made him marvellously afraid. But when he saw that it did him no hurt, but stood by his bed-²⁰ side and said nothing ; at length he asked him what he was. The image answered him : " I am thy ill angel, Brutus, and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippi." Then Brutus replied again, and said, " Well, I shall see thee then." Therewithal the spirit presently vanished from him. After that time Brutus, being in battle near unto the city of Philippi against Antonius and Octavius Cæsar, at the first battle he won the victory, and overthrowing all them that withstood him, he drave them into ³⁰ young Cæsar's camp, which he took. The second battle being at hand, this spirit appeared again

unto him, but spake never a word. Thereupon

The second
appearing of
the spirit
unto Brutus.

Brutus, knowing that he should die, did
put himself to all hazard in battle, but
yet fighting could not be slain. So
5 seeing his men put to flight and overthrown, he
ran unto a little rock not far off, and there setting
his sword's point to his breast, fell upon it and
slew himself; but yet, as it is reported, with the
help of his friend that dispatched him.

NOTES.

PREFACE.

Page 1, l. 2. the Author, Plutarch.

Amiot, usually spelt Amyot. See Introduction, p. viii.

l. 7. to trust him, to take Amyot's word for the interest of Plutarch's *Lives*.

CHAPTER I.

Page 3, l. 1. Sylla, or more correctly Sulla. See Introduction, p. xiii.

Page 4, l. 3. his father's own sister, that is, Cæsar's aunt, Julia. See 9. 6.

l. 10. priesthoodship. Marius had appointed Cæsar flamen Dialis, or priest of Jupiter, and a member of the sacred college at the age of fourteen. On Cæsar's refusal to divorce Cornelia Sulla deprived him of this priesthood. It is evidently this incident to which Plutarch is here making a very inaccurate reference.

l. 25. captain. Here and elsewhere this word signifies no special rank, but merely commander in a general sense.

l. 30. Nicomedes. Minucius Thermus, the prætor to whose staff Cæsar was attached, sent him to apply to Nicomedes for some vessels to be of service in putting down the pirates who held Lesbos. This mission Cæsar carried out successfully. He further distinguished himself in the storming of Mitylene by saving the life of a fellow-soldier and winning the oak crown, the Victoria Cross of the Roman Army.

l. 32. These pirates, who were a large and organised body with headquarters in Cilicia, had made themselves complete masters of the Mediterranean. Some idea of their strength may be gathered from the enormous powers given to Pompey when he was entrusted with the task of putting them down.

Page 6, l. 5. Asia, the Roman province of Asia, which included only the western part of Asia Minor.

l. 20. to study. It was a regular practice for a young Roman at this time to study oratory before he entered on public life, just as an Englishman may go to a University.

Page 7, l. 3. a book he wrote, the *Anti-Cato*. See 87. 31.

l. 9. Dolabella had been governor of Macedonia, and, as was the usual custom of the senatorial proconsuls or proprætors at this time, but carried abroad, as here, in solemn funeral procession. The possession of these images distinguished the Nobiles at Rome.

Page 9, l. 10. images of Marius. These were waxen busts of a man's ancestors, usually kept in the atria or halls of their houses, but carried abroad, as here, in solemn funeral procession. The possession of these images distinguished the Nobiles at Rome.

l. 31. treasurer. See Glossary A under Quæstor.

Page 10, l. 14. overseer. The technical term was Curator.

l. 15. Appius' way. The famous Via Appia, the first great Roman road; it ran originally from Rome to Capua, and was afterwards carried down to Brundisium.

Page 11, l. 4. triumph. See Glossary A.

l. 9. Cimbri. The great invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones took place in 102 B.C. They threatened to over-run the whole of Italy, but the danger was averted by Marius at the battles of Aquæ Sextiæ and Vercellæ.

Page 12, l. 16. chief bishop. See Glossary A under Pontifex Maximus.

Page 13, l. 12. Catiline was a reckless and unscrupulous politician, who had put himself at the head of all the discontented elements in the state. There is no doubt that his conspiracy was a grave danger—a danger which was averted by the prompt action of Cicero. It is not easy to determine Cæsar's share of complicity in the plot; probably he knew of it and was ready to take advantage of it if it should be successful, but took no further part in it.

Page 14, l. 30. the book he wrote of his consulship, the poem of Cicero about his consulship, either the *De suo Consulatu* or the *De Temporibus suis*, of both of which only fragments have come down to us.

Page 16, l. 4. the good goddess. Bona Dea, an ancient Roman deity, the earth-goddess or goddess of fertility. Plutarch here attempts to identify her with other earth-goddesses; first, with a Greek goddess, Gynæcia; secondly, with the Phrygian Cybele, the mother of Midas; thirdly, with a nymph married to Faunus—a more likely suggestion; and fourthly, with the Greek Persephone, who

was, according to one story, the mother of Bacchus. The Romans delighted in these identifications, and in the introduction of the rites of other nations into their own worship, a system which usually resulted in great confusion between the native and alien deity. To this the many contradictions and difficulties of the Roman religion are due.

1. 22. **the ceremonies of Orpheus.** These were religious rites bearing some resemblance to those of Dionysus, with whose worship Orphic mysteries were connected.

Page 17, l. 14. **to play**, to take part in the ceremonies.

Page 18, l. 20. **that**, *i.e.* that which.

1. 24. The traditional form of his answer is, "Cæsar's wife must be above suspicion."

Page 19, l. 29. **Alexander's acts.** Alexander the Great was King of Macedon; he carved himself a vast empire out of the East,

"and thundered on
To die at thirty-five in Babylon."

Page 20, l. 13. **Oceanum.** According to the ideas of the ancients, who imagined the earth to be flat, Oceanus was a stream which encircled the whole world. Here it means that part of the Atlantic which washes the shores of Spain.

Page 22, l. 6. **assembly of the election**, the Comitia Centuriata. See Glossary A.

1. 24. **the assembly**, the Comitia Tributa. See Glossary A.

Page 24, l. 4. **Gaul on this side**, Gallia Cisalpina, stretching from the Alps on the north down to the River Rubicon.

1. 19. **President of the Senate.** See Glossary A.

CHAPTER II.

Page 26, l. 12. **Fabians.** The two most distinguished members were Fabius Maximus, the conqueror of the Samnites, who was five times consul, twice dictator, once censor, and enjoyed seven triumphs, and Quintus Fabius Cunctator, whose tactics defeated Hannibal.

Scipios. Publius Scipio Africanus, who won the battle of Zama; his brother Lucius Cornelius Asiaticus, who defeated Antiochus of Syria; and Scipio Africanus, the younger, who destroyed Carthage and took Numantia in Spain, were the three most famous.

the Metelli were one of the proudest families in Rome; in 22 years they enjoyed six consulships and four censorships, besides five triumphs.

the two Lucullians were Lucius Licinius Lucullus, the famous epicure and general who commanded the Roman troops during the first part of the Mithridatic War, and Marius his brother.

Page 27, l. 26. **Marseilles.** The ancient name was Massilia.

Page 29, l. 27. **the falling sickness,** epilepsy.

Page 30, l. 12. **in eight days.** He travelled over 60 miles a day.

l. 19. **Oppius,** a friend of Cæsar, who wrote a life of Pompey.

l. 27. **Milan.** The ancient name was Mediolanum.

Page 31, l. 28. **lieutenant,** legatus. See Glossary A. Labienus was Cæsar's chief legatus, and the only one who deserted him in the Civil War.

Page 32, l. 31. **Ariovistus.** He had been called in as an ally by the Arverni and Sequani to help them to crush the Aedui. At first the Romans had tried to win him over by flattery; but after his campaign against the Aedui Ariovistus and his Germans wished to make a permanent settlement in the territory of the Sequani, and then the Romans realised that this steady movement of the Germans southwards must be stopped at all cost. This was to be Cæsar's task.

Page 33, l. 6. Cæsar himself tells us how panic-stricken they were. All through the camp men were even making their wills, and the troops were ready to mutiny.

Page 34, l. 31. **Gaul,** Gallia Cisalpina. See 24. 4, note.

Page 36, l. 26. **counsellors of the Romans** would mean Roman Senators. But this is a mistranslation; what Plutarch wrote (and Cæsar's own Commentaries confirm this) was that out of four hundred Nervian senators, or chief men, only three escaped.

Page 37, l. 21. **sergeants,** lictors. See Glossary A.

Page 38, l. 5. **Cato** was sent to Cyprus to annex the island, and to confiscate the treasures of King Ptolemy, on a charge of helping the pirates.

Page 39, l. 6. **Canutius,** probably an error for Tanusius, a friend of Cicero, and a Roman historian who wrote annals of his own times.

Page 41, l. 22. **in despite of the tribunes,** who had apparently exercised their right of veto. See Glossary A.

l. 23. **the field of Mars,** the Campus Martius, a large plain at Rome, outside the walls.

Page 42, l. 7. **Quintus Cicero,** brother of Cicero the orator and statesman.

Page 43, l. 32. **lieutenant-general,** leader.

Page 44, l. 8. There is no doubt that North's marginal note gives the right reading.

Page 45, l. 5. they had joined, *i.e.* the Aedui had joined.

l. 28. holy, in the sense of being dedicated to the god of the Arverni.

Page 47, l. 23. It was a regular custom not only to lead the chiefs of the conquered enemy before the general's chariot in the triumphal procession, but even to put them to death during the ceremony.

CHAPTER III.

Page 48, l. 3. Crassus being killed, after the battle of Charræ, B.C. 53.

Page 50, l. 23. sole Consul. The difference between this office and that of Dictator was merely one of terms.

Page 51, l. 11. Novumcomum, just south of Lake Larius (Lake Como), 28 miles from Milan. It had been settled by Roman colonists after the reduction of Cisalpine Gaul, and Cæsar had lately sent 5000 new colonists there. These had obtained the Latin franchise, a privilege Cæsar's enemies were trying to cancel. The colony subsequently obtained the full Roman franchise.

l. 14. senator. Each colony had a Senate of its own, a kind of town-council.

l. 25. Curio. See l. 23.

l. 26. Paul the Consul. This was Lucius Æmilius Paulus. He restored the Basilica Æmilia et Fulvia, which stood on the N.E. of the Forum, and had originally been built in 179 B.C. by the Censors, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Marcus Æmilius Lepidus.

l. 28. Basilick. See Glossary B.

Page 52, l. 1. two legions. See 43. 9.

Page 53, l. 12. in, of.

Page 54, l. 9. changed apparel, put on mourning.

l. 13. Cæsar offered to give up the province of Gallia Narbonensis or Gaul proper, but proposed to retain his other two provinces of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria; he was also willing to dismiss all his soldiers except two legions.

l. 25. six thousand men only, that is, only one legion.

Page 55, l. 22. Gaul again means Gallia Cisalpina. As a matter of fact Ariminum, the modern Rimini, was not in Gaul but in Italy proper, by entering which Cæsar became guilty of open rebellion.

Page 56, l. 26. Asinius Pollio, poet and historian. Virgil inscribed his fourth eclogue to him.

Page 57, l. 3. The Greek means, "The die is cast."

Page 60, l. 22. put in pay, added them to his own army.

Page 61, l. 24. pulpit, the platform from which the speakers addressed the people.

Page 62, l. 32. their children, the children and grandchildren of those proscribed by Sulla (4,700 in number) had been excluded from a political career. This disability Cæsar removed.

Page 63, l. 13. Posideon, more correctly Poseideon; it corresponds to the last half of December and the first half of January.

Page 64, l. 31. Anius, the river Aöus, which flows into the Adriatic Sea between Oricus and Apollonia.

Page 70, l. 22. Baccherians, the Bacchanals, or worshippers of Bacchus, who used to work themselves into the wildest frenzy in his worship.

l. 27. Pharsalia, the country round Pharsalus.

Page 71, l. 1. clapping of hands. There is something missing in the original Greek here. From Plutarch's *Life of Pompey* we learn that he dreamed also that he decorated the Temple of Venus with spoils. This part of the dream seemed an ill omen; for, since Cæsar claimed descent from Venus, it appeared to signify that Cæsar should win spoils from Pompey. But the rest of the dream was interpreted by Pompey's friends as being a good omen.

l. 6. chief bishopric. See Glossary A, Pontifex Maximus.

Page 73, l. 26. march upon their bellies, trample them under foot.

Page 76, l. 27. Asinius Pollio, mentioned before, 56. 26, where see note.

Page 77, l. 20. Padua. The ancient name was Patavium; it was the birthplace of Livy.

Page 78, l. 9. Theopompus, a historian of Cnidus and friend of Cæsar.

CHAPTER IV.

Page 81, l. 9. Achilles, the commander of the army of Ptolemy, King of Egypt. He was one of Pompey's murderers.

l. 26. the library of Alexandria, the great library of 400,000 volumes, founded by the first two Ptolemies (323-247 B.C.)

l. 28. the tower of Phar. The tower of Phar, or Pharos, was the famous lighthouse of Alexandria. It stood on an island which commanded the harbour, and was joined to the mainland by a great mole.

Page 82, l. 18. Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates the Great, the old enemy of Rome. He was king of Pontus.

l. 24. Armenia the less, Lower Armenia.

Page 83, l. 17. citizens. The soldiers, in disgust at being told to prepare for a campaign in Africa, had mutinied, and Cæsar's favourite legion, the tenth, had come to ask for their discharge. He addressed them as "Quirites," or citizens, thus giving them their discharge, and promised them rewards for their past services. Overcome by this generous treatment and the thought that their service was over, they begged to be allowed to serve him still.

l. 32. Juba, King of Numidia.

Page 84, l. 18. Scipios. Two of this family had won the name of Africanus for themselves. See 26. 12, note.

Page 85, l. 1. dog's-tooth, usually called the dog's-tooth violet. It has purple flowers and leaves spotted with red.

Page 87, l. 31. Anticaton. This work has been entirely lost.

Page 88, l. 31. Julia. See 41. 14.

Page 89, l. 2. mustered, that is, a census taken.

l. 14. sons of Pompey, Cnæus and Sextus, who were about thirty years old.

Page 90, l. 5. the feast-day of the Bacchanalians, March 17th.

CHAPTER V.

Page 94, l. 3. Hyrcania, the country lying to the south of the Caspian Sea, very mountainous, and covered with thick forests.

l. 10. Oceanum. See 20. 13, note.

l. 12. to cut the bar of the strait, to make a canal across the isthmus of Corinth.

l. 25. Ostia, the port of Rome.

l. 32. the ordinance of the calendar. In the old calendar the year only contained 355 days. Thus, in spite of the insertion of extra months, the true time had come to be anticipated by 67 days. This discrepancy Cæsar reformed, and also corrected the calendar itself.

Page 96, l. 10. Sibylline prophecies, the three prophetic books which tradition said the Sibyl of Cumæ had sold to Tarquinius Superbus.

l. 15. Alba, about 14 miles S.E. of Rome.

l. 24. pulpit for orators. See 61. 24, note.

Page 97, l. 24. the feast Lupercalia. As Plutarch says, it was an old shepherd festival. It was celebrated on Feb. 15th, and the worshippers assembled at the cave of the Lupercal, where Romulus and Remus were said to have been nourished by the wolf. Notice that Plutarch here again wishes to identify the Roman with the Greek rites.

Page 98, l. 4. to be stricken, in the belief that this would bring them what they wished.

l. 8. in triumphant manner, dressed in the gold embroidered robe and flowered tunic which a general wore during his triumph.

Page 99, l. 1. Brutus, Lucius Junius Brutus, who drove Tarquinius Superbus from the throne, and was himself elected one of the first two consuls at Rome.

Page 101, l. 8. Strabo, most famous for his work on Geography, in 17 books, which we possess in a fairly complete state. The passage to which Plutarch refers here, however, must have come from his *Historical Memoirs*, which have perished.

l. 29. Lepidus, afterwards triumvir with Antony and Octavian.

Page 105, l. 7. the doctrine of Epicurus. His teaching, as expounded by the Roman poet, Lucretius, was opposed to all forms of superstition.

Page 110, l. 7. he reaped, that is, Cæsar reaped.

GLOSSARIES.

A.

SPECIAL GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS.

Note.—Unless North uses these words in more senses than one, only a single reference is given to the text for each word.

Ædile (10. 18). There were four ædiles at this time. Their duties were chiefly municipal; they took charge of the police, the streets, and the public buildings at Rome, and distributed corn to the poor. They also had to superintend the religious festivals and the public games.

Cohort (59. 32). A cohort, usually called an ensign by North, was the tenth part of a legion, and therefore at full strength contained 600 men.

Comitia Centuriata (22. 6). The assembly which elected consuls, prætors, and censors. In it the citizens voted by centuries, and, as these were originally military divisions, they had to meet outside the city, usually in the Campus Martius.

Comitia Tributa (22. 24). This assembly elected the minor magistrates, and also passed plebiscita, which did not require the sanction of the Senate to be binding laws. It usually met in the Forum, and in it the people voted by tribes.

Consul (13. 25). The two consuls were the most important magistrates at Rome. Their chief duty at this time was to summon and preside over the Senate.

Dictator (3. 3). The dictator was not one of the regular magistrates, but was only appointed at a grave crisis. He superseded the consuls, and had absolute control over the army. Constitutionally he only held office for six months.

Imperator (20. 30). After a victory it was usual for the soldiers to salute their commander as "Imperator" as a title of honour.

Legatus (31. 28). Called "lieutenant" by North, but "general" would be a better word. The legati, from 3 to 15 in number, formed the staff of a Roman general, and were nominated by him; they were usually men of considerable military experience, and were often put in command of very large forces.

Legion (24. 6). The legion was the chief division of the Roman Army, containing 6000 men at full strength, divided into 10 cohorts, 30 maniples and 60 centuries.

Lictor (37. 21). North calls them "sergeants." They were public officers who attended the chief Roman magistrates, bearing a bundle of rods (fasces) as a sign of office. A consul was preceded by 12 lictors, a prætor by two in Rome, and by six outside the city.

Patricians (15. 25). The rank of a patrician was a dignity which, except in rare cases, was attained by birth only. The patrician families, only fifty in number by Cæsar's time, were the descendants of the 300 Romans who composed the Senate in the time of the kings.

Pontifex Maximus (12. 16). North translates this by "Chief Bishop of Rome." He was head of the Roman religion, and exercised a general supervision over it. The office was one of great dignity, and was held for life. According to Sulla's legislation the Pontifex Maximus was chosen by the fourteen other pontifices or priests; but in 63 B.C. (the year in which Cæsar was elected) the law was altered, and the pontifices chose two candidates, one of whom was elected by the people.

Prætor (9. 31, 15. 19, 71. 9, 100. 11). The Prætors, eight in number at this time, used to regulate the judicial procedure; and each prætor presided over one of the permanent courts instituted by Sulla.

(6. 7, 7. 17, 19. 5, 37. 19). Here the word is used in the sense of Proprætor. After his year of office each prætor was made governor of one of the provinces for another year, with very large powers; he commanded the army, administered justice, and collected the taxes of that province.

President of the Senate (24. 19). He was the magistrate who summoned the meeting, usually one of the consuls, but any magistrate, except an ædile or a quæstor, might summon the Senate. The President acted as chairman, and conducted the business of the meeting.

Proconsul (37. 20). Just as a Prætor after his year of office at Rome became a Proprætor, so a Consul became a Proconsul and governed one of the provinces.

Quæstor (9. 31). North calls the Quæstors "Treasurers." They were financial officers, twenty in number, who managed the

collection of all taxes, tributes, fines, booty, and so on, and all the disbursements of State money at Rome and in the provinces.

Senate (12. 1). The Senate was, in theory, a purely deliberative body, but in practice wielded great powers. At this time it contained about 600 members, and admission into it was gained by election to the office of Quæstor.

Triumph (21. 1). This was the greatest honour that could be conferred on a Roman general, and consisted of a solemn procession of the general and his army through the city of Rome to offer sacrifice in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill. In order to obtain it the general, who must have been either dictator, consul, or prætor, must have commanded in person in a victory decisive enough to put an end to a campaign waged against foreigners, of whom 5000 must have been slain.

Unless the honour of a triumph was voted to him, no general was allowed to enter Rome till he had laid down his "imperium" or military command, and dismissed his army. Hence Cæsar's dilemma on page 21.

Tribūnus militum (9. 1). There were six tribunes of the soldiers attached to each legion, of which they took command in turns. A certain number were appointed by the people, but others were nominated by the general. These were often young men of position with no experience of soldiering.

Tribūnus plebis (7. 20, 18. 7, 24. 10, 41. 22, 61. 16, 98. 28). The tribunes of the people, ten in number, were elected by the Comitia Tributa. Their main function was to safeguard the interests of the people, and their chief weapon was their right of putting a "veto" on the acts of any other magistrate, or even of another tribune.

B.

GENERAL GLOSSARY.

- abidden** (33. 31), waited for ; (91. 6), endured.
abuse (52. 8), mislead (cf. to disabuse).
ado (89. 30), trouble.
adventure, at all adventure (59. 17), to every chance, at the mercy of fortune.
advertise (35. 13, 41. 13, 82. 31), inform.
afore (26. 9, 101. 21), before.
aforetime (93. 2), before.
against (41. 2), adjoining ; (111. 10), opposite.
albeit (62. 25), although.
allow (88. 2, 108. 16), approve.
amply (61. 1), fully.
assay (41. 30), to try ; (44. 17), an assault.
away, to away with (24. 21, 69. 1), to endure.
basilick (51. 28), basilica, a large hall used either as a court of law or a meeting-place for men of business. Many of them were afterwards converted into Christian churches.
battle (73. 1, 73. 16), battalion or division of an army ; (66. 30), and usually, an army in battle array.
besides (59. 12, 72. 22, 105. 13), beside.
bill (100. 16, 104. 12), letter.
bondman (76. 31, 103. 32), slave.
brake (36. 9, 43. 11), broke.
bravery (58. 17, 71. 5), boastful mood.
caparison (47. 15), the trappings of a horse.
carriage (59. 29), baggage.
carion (100. 29), dead flesh.
cast about (65. 13), turn round.
challenge (108. 2), claim.
choler (38. 10), anger.
closely (73. 8), secretly.
coat-armour (76. 11), body-armour, coat of mail.
colour (49. 18, 54. 31), an excuse, pretext ; (92. 1, 96. 7), a reason ; **by colour of** (21. 24), under cover of ; **to colour** (7. 20, 61. 15), to give a better appearance to, to disguise.
confederates (9. 13, 31. 31, 32. 32, 35. 20, 40. 19, 45. 10), allies.
continued (29. 22), endured.
contrarily (69. 18), on the other hand.
conversation (80. 32), behaviour.
convinced (13. 24), condemned.
corslet (47. 2), breast-plate.
course, words of course (61. 14), formal expressions.
cousin-germans (4. 5), first cousins.
covertly (12. 6, 50. 15), secretly.
cross (52. 27), oppose.
currer (44. 27), courier.
dilate (21. 14), prolong.
discover (65. 15), reveal.
divers (7. 11 and elsewhere), various.
doctrine (105. 7), teaching.
drachma (52. 5, 83. 18), a silver coin, worth about 9½d.
drave (22. 21, 28. 17, 54. 29, 82. 30, 111. 30), drove.
durst (24. 23, 40. 13), dared.
easing (31. 14), caves.

eftsoons (84. 26), soon afterwards.
elder (20. 3), older.
element (72. 16, 101. 2, 110. 27), sky.
emulation (93. 30), rivalry.
ensign (20. 9, 59. 32, 71. 25, 73. 9, 75. 2), cohort, a tenth part of a legion; (67. 6), a standard.
environ (45. 13, 73. 19), surround.
estate (47. 17), state.
fact (107. 12, 108. 12), deed (Latin: *factum*).
fain (1. 22), willing.
familiar (78. 19), friend.
fardle (80. 29), bundle.
favour, of favour (61. 26), out of kindness.
ferula (98. 5), a flat piece of wood for punishing children.
fetch (71. 32), trick.
fine, in fine (8. 6, 13. 2, 81. 12, 82. 9), in the end; (27. 7), to sum up.
flatly (13. 10, 58. 2), openly.
for (90. 8), as for.
forthwith (61. 3), immediately.
frank (15. 12), free.
frankly (51. 22), freely.
fumbling (102. 7), rambling.
furniture (47. 18), trappings and harness of a horse.
gainsay (22. 11), to oppose in words.
garboil (58. 30), turmoil.
gauge (11. 19), measure.
gives (8. 26), forgives, makes me doubt.
gotten (41. 6 and elsewhere), got; **had gotten themselves** (40. 15), had gone.
gratis (22. 16), free of charge.
hackled (106. 20), hacked.
hale (63. 25), to drag.
hardily (12. 12, 65. 19), boldly.

hardness (29. 22), hardship; (66. 22), stubbornness.
harness (63. 29), armour.
historiographer (77. 22, 88. 22), historian.
hitherunto (20. 5), until now.
howbeit (4. 12 and elsewhere), nevertheless.
hurling (74. 5), tumult.
impair (61. 26), weaken.
importunate of (19. 7), pressing, urging.
incontinently (42. 17, 71. 11), immediately.
indict (18. 7), to accuse in due legal form.
indictment (14. 1), accusation.
indifferently (54. 3), impartially.
inexpugnable (46. 1), impregnable.
instant (46. 21), pressing.
intreat (61. 8), treat.
inveigh against (12. 4, 21. 9), speak against, abuse.
jar, at jar (21. 22), at strife.
jointure (4. 1), dowry.
leave (66. 17), cease.
let (22. 28, 48. 7), hinder.
light, to set light by (49. 4), to think little of.
like (102. 31), please.
list (58. 20, 95. 14), please.
load, laid on load (65. 21), worked hard.
lodge (42. 21, 66. 6), to encamp.
lodging (67. 25), a camp.
manner, in manner (5. 7, 57. 26), as it were, almost; **all in manner** (36. 23, 39. 17, 54. 1), all so to speak, almost all.
marrish (28. 12, 43. 25, 94. 21), marsh.
maze (34. 2), perplexity.
meeter (22. 13), more suitable.
mislike (15. 30, 31. 1, 103. 26), dislike.

mistrust (38. 32, 65. 30, 86. 5), to expect (generally something to your disadvantage).

myriad (15. 15, 80. 6), a sum of 10,000 drachmæ, worth about £400.

nothing (33. 31, 95. 28), not at all.

objected (15. 4, 18. 21), brought against (Latin: *objicio*).

order, take order (14. 6, 20. 15), to take steps.

ordinance (94. 32), ordering.

otherwhile (5. 17, 29. 26), at other times.

overthrown (72. 27), taken down.

parts (83. 20), disposition.

passed for (5. 21, 52. 27), cared for.

passingly well (66. 5), very well.

pell-mell (85. 16), headlong, in any order.

pinnacle (64. 23), a small boat.

post (44. 27), a letter-carrier.

practise (35. 4, 43. 14, 99. 32), scheme, plot.

prefer (22. 15), put forward, propose (Latin: *præ-fero*); (92. 11), advance.

preferment (93. 17), promotion.

pretend (100. 25), intend.

prevent (67. 13, 101. 32), anticipate.

privy unto it (17. 5), in the secret.

profane (1. 8), not religious, secular.

prorogue (37. 28, 50. 27, 51. 4, 52. 31), prolong.

puissant (84. 1), powerful.

purge (39. 11), cleanse.

quail (8. 3), fail.

quit (19. 3), acquit.

rampiers (42. 26, 76. 6), ramparts.

ray (32. 2, 72. 32, 86. 19), array.

repair (57. 19), influx; **flowing repair**, *i.e.* the stream of those who repaired to Rome.

require (38. 27), ask for.

rereward (73. 9), rear guard.

room (12. 19), place.

round (69. 29), blunt.

roundly (62. 9), speedily.

ruff (11. 3), height.

say, to say (20. 30), that is to say.

scant (4. 11, 32. 17), scarcely.

scape (71. 11, 86. 26), escape.

seal (78. 16), signet-ring.

self (93. 5), same; (14. 24 and elsewhere), himself.

semblance (53. 4), appearance; **making semblance** (50. 16), pretending.

setting forth (102. 13), decoration.

sew (94. 21), drain.

sharp, at the sharp (88. 30), with sharp weapons.

shifted him (76. 12), changed his apparel.

sight, in sight (8. 9), it was evident.

sith (33. 13, 49. 6, 53. 1, 66. 23), since.

soothsayer (72. 3, 101. 19, 102. 22), one who foretells events.

sort (62. 19 and elsewhere), manner; **the mean sort** (109. 22), the common people.

sperage (30. 28), asparagus.

stay, to set affairs at a stay (37. 7), to set them in order, to settle them.

stories (1. 1, 1. 13), histories.

straight (64. 10), at once.

straightened with (48. 7), in difficulties for.

straightly (15. 31, 66. 18), strictly.

strake (67. 15, 106. 1, 110. 26), struck.

strength (32. 12), stronghold.
subtilly (21. 25), subtly.
sundry (63. 22), different.
superficial (110. 11), lying on the surface, unsubstantial.
sure (23. 12), made sure, promised.

talent (4. 26, 5. 3, 10. 13, 19. 15, 51. 1), six thousand drachmæ, about £235.
target (22. 31, 27. 28), shield.
tarry (34. 14), to wait for;
 to tarry time (68. 22), to delay.
testament (108. 28), will.
thwart (52. 26), oppose.
tickle (41. 19), unstable (cf. a ticklish situation).
tract (68. 23), length.
traitorous (39. 5, 105. 9), treacherous.
travailed (54. 19), worked hard.
treen (80. 2), wooden.

undecent (23. 2), unbecoming (Latin: *deceat*).
unmeet (23. 2), unsuitable.

voices (37. 14, 49. 23), votes, support.
void (4. 11, 32. 27), vacant.
vouching (21. 9), citing, quoting.

wanting (61. 3), lacking.
ward (66. 14), watch.
waving (56. 23), wavering.
wax (111. 16), grow.
wit, to wit (10. 29, 16. 6, 99. 8), that is to say.
withal (10. 23 and elsewhere), with; (14. 8, 15. 30, 34. 2, 52. 20, 81. 26), besides; (104. 23), for all that.
without (46. 5), from without.
withstand (23. 28 and elsewhere), oppose; **to withstand that** (48. 8), to oppose him so that.

QUESTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

1. What do you learn about the character and person of Cæsar from the incidents of his early life which are related here?
2. Why was it natural for Cæsar, in spite of his patrician birth, to belong to the party of the Populares?
3. What part did Cæsar take in the debate in the Senate about the punishment of the Catilinarian conspirators?
4. Explain what is meant by the "Affair of the Bona Dea."
5. Enumerate in their proper order the different magistracies and priesthoods held by Cæsar, noting briefly the importance of each.
6. Why was Cæsar compelled to resign the honour of a triumph in 60 B.C.?

CHAPTER II.

1. In what sense does North use the words: sperage, marrish, choler, the easing of the house, the falling sickness?
2. What was the position of affairs in Gaul when Cæsar took up his command there in 58 B.C.?
3. Relate any two stories which prove the devotion of Cæsar's men to him.
4. Describe shortly Cæsar's campaign against Ariovistus.
5. What was settled at the Conference of Lucca?
6. Give an account of the surrender of Vercingetorix.

CHAPTER III.

1. Express in your own words :
 - (a) But above all things it was a lamentable sight to see the city itself, that in this fear and trouble was left at all adventure, as a ship tossed in storm of sea, forsaken of her pilots and despairing of her safety.
 - (b) For finding himself so well provided of all things necessary to tarry time, he thought it better to draw this war out in length by tract of time, the rather to consume this little strength that remained in Cæsar's army.
2. Describe shortly the incident which occasioned this saying of Cæsar : "Thou hast Cæsar and his fortune with thee."
3. What does North mean by : occasions of colour, an ensign of men, lieutenant, rampier, garboil, Paul's Basilick ?
4. Why was the crossing of the Rubicon so important a step ?
5. How far was Cæsar justified in undertaking the Civil War ?
6. What difference would it have made to Rome if Pompey had won the battle of Pharsalia, and if Cæsar had fallen there ?

CHAPTER IV.

1. Explain : fardle, puissant, pellmell, dog's-tooth, the tower of Phar.
2. Express in your own words :

But this his imprisonment fell out happily for him : for, where he was but a barbarous Numidian, by the study he fell unto when he was a prisoner, he came afterwards to be reckoned one of the wisest historiographers of the Grecians.
3. "Veni, vidi, vici." When and why were these words used ?
4. Give some account of the battle of Thapsus.
5. Why was Cato always such a bitter opponent of Cæsar ?
6. Why did Cæsar's triumph for the battle of Munda offend the people at Rome ? Explain the conditions under which a triumph was usually granted.

CHAPTER V.

1. What do you understand by : the mean sort, ferula, the Ides of March, the Lupercalia ?
2. Describe the means by which Brutus was urged on to begin the conspiracy against Cæsar.

3. Quote the sentence in which Cæsar expresses his distrust of Cassius. How does Shakespeare reproduce it?
4. If Cæsar had completed his canal across the isthmus of Corinth, what would have been its effect?
5. What portents foretold Cæsar's death?
6. By what arguments would the conspirators have justified themselves for murdering Cæsar?
7. Pick out any three sentences which seem to you to illustrate the vigour and picturesqueness of North's prose.
8. A letter from a friend in Rome to a friend in the country written the day after Cæsar's murder.
9. Compare and contrast the work and character of Cæsar and Napoleon.

HELPS TO FURTHER STUDY.

Julius Cæsar, by W. Warde Fowler in the "Heroes of the Nations" Series (Putnam, 5s.).

Cæsar, a sketch, by J. A. Froude in the "Silver Library" (Longmans, 3s. 6d.).

The chapters in Mommsen's *History of Rome* bearing on the period. Shakespeare's Play of *Julius Cæsar*.

Shakespeare's Roman Plays and their Background, by MacCallum (Macmillan, 10s.). Especially the chapter on Plutarch, Amyot and North.

Cicero and his Friends, by Boissier. Translated by A. D. Jones (Innes and Co., 5s.).

Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero, by W. Warde Fowler (Macmillan, 10s.).

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